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VOL. IX

JUNE 1947

PART I

Issued in February, 1948

EDITOR

PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT.,
*Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture,
Benares Hindu University.*



NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM,
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NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA
1948

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A NEW (KOŚALA ?) VARIETY OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES.

Punch-marked coins of ancient India present a number of problems which still remain unsolved. The material for their solution is insufficient and inconclusive and it is therefore desirable that we should continue to collect more data for their solution. From this point of view the discovery of a new type of silver punch-marked coinage, which is being described in this paper, is very interesting and valuable. The five coins that are being published here were purchased from Mr. Kesarichand Jaria, a coin-dealer from Lucknow. It appears that a large number of these coins were found in a hoard somewhere in U. P. or Kośala and that Mr. Jaria procured a part of them.

We shall first describe the coins illustrated in **Pl. IA.**

No. 1. Metal, silver ; size, irregular squarish, 1.05" x .95" ; weight, 53 grains.

Obverse : 1. In the upper left corner, the Six-armed Symbol consisting of alternating arrowheads and rectangles only partly visible. Only one of the rectangle is visible, and it looks somewhat like an oval. But in coin No. 5, the rectangles are clear and so we may assume that what looks like an irregular oval was really intended to be a rectangle.

2. In the lower left corner, the Sun, with slanting rays.
3. Lower side centre, some animal, possibly a tortoise, surrounded by circles:
4. Right side below, Elephant to right with two tusks.
5. Right side top, an incomplete symbol, possibly the hind part of an animal. **Pl. IA, I.**

Reverse : Blank.

No. 2. Metal, silver ; size, irregular, greatest length 1.2", greatest breadth .9"; weight, 52 grains.

Obverse : 1. Left side centre, Six-armed Symbol with alternating triangles and arrowheads.

2. Lower side bottom, Bow and arrow strung together.
3. Lower side right corner, portion of the Sun Symbol with slanting rays, similar to No. 2 on coin No. 1.
4. Right side centre, a symbol consisting of a circle with taurine on either side, the one above being blurred.

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5. Right side top, the same as No. 3 in coin No. 1, but the animal here definitely looks like a tortoise.

PI IA, 2

Reverse : Blank.

No. 3. Metal, silver ; size, irregular, greatest length 1.5", greatest breadth .85" ; weight, 52.5 grains.

Obverse : 1. Lower side, left corner, the Sun.

2. Right side centre, Six-armed Symbol with arrowheads and ovals alternating.

3. Right side top, the Animal surrounded by dots.

4. Upper side right corner, Taurine, which may be part of the circle flanked by two taurines occurring on coin No. 2.

5. Left side upper part (to be viewed from the right of the photograph), Four Lotus buds in a lake, the lower ones being clear. The lake is denoted by an incuse conical depression, whose right side (when viewed from the right of the photograph) looks a little detached in the plate, but is not so in the original. PI IA, 3.

Reverse : Blank.

No. 4. Metal, silver ; size irregular, greatest length 1.15", greatest breadth, .85" ; weight, 52.5 grains.

Obverse : 1. Upper side centre, Six-armed Symbol with arrowheads and triangles alternating as in No. 2 above, but better preserved.

2. Left side centre, Bow and arrow strung together, the same as No. 2 on coin No. 2 above.

3. Lower side, Animal surrounded with dots. It is similar to No. 5 of coin No. 2 and No. 3 of coin No. 1, but the dots are relatively smaller ; those in the lower portion can be detected only in the original and not in the photograph.

4. Right side centre, a circle flanked by taurines, the one on the left being blurred and the one on the right being incomplete.

5. Right side top, the Sun symbol but partly engraved.

PI IA, 4.

Reverse : Blank.

No. 4. resembles No. 2 both in size and symbols.

No. 5. Metal, silver ; size, greatest length, 1.15", greatest breadth, .95", weight, 52.5 grains.

Obverse : 1. Left side centre, Six-armed Symbol with alternating arrow-heads and rectangles as on No. 1.

2. Left side lower corner, the Sun.

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3. Lower side right corner, the Animal surrounded by dots.
4. Right side near the top, an incomplete symbol, but its traces suggest an Elephant facing right.
5. Upper side extreme top, an Insect with many feet.

Pl. I A.5.

Reverse : Blank.

No. 5 resembles No 1 in size. Four symbols of both these coins are identical, the fifth incomplete one being different.

The five coins illustrated along with this paper undoubtedly constitute a new class of the silver punch-marked coins. In their large size, they resemble the Kośala coins described by Babu Durga Prasad¹ and Srinath Sah²; they however differ from them in not being saucer-shaped. They have no symbols on the reverse as is the case with four of the six coins described by Mr. Srinath Sah. They have however no numerous additional marks imprinted on the obverse, as is the case with the Kośala coins of Babu Srinath Sah. Their weight varies between 52.5 and 53 grains, which is the normal weight of most of the well preserved punch-marked silver coins, though it is about 5 grains less than the theoretical weight of 32 *ratis* or 58 grains, as postulated by Manu.

Early coins of Kośala, like those referred to above, or those of the Paila hoard,³ had only four symbols on the obverse; like the later punch-marked coins, the present coins, however, have 5 symbols on the obverse. They however differ from them in having a size nearly twice as large. The peculiar symbol occurring in early Kośala coins like those of the Paila and Saheth-Maheth hoards and the Kośala coins of Durga Prasad, namely, three Serpentes round a knob, is absent on these coins. Nor do Pentagrams, Circle surrounded by four umbrellas or by five semicircles with knobs in the centre or circle surrounded by two arches, one larger and one smaller, occur on the present coins as they do on those of Babu Durga Prasad and of the Paila hoard. If we compare the present coins with those of the Golakhpur (Patna) hoard, we find that the size of both is approximately the same, and equally irregular. They also resemble them in having the Sun and the Six-armed symbol as the constant symbols, as is also the case with later punch-marked coins. The Flower pot and Hexagon, which are common symbols on the coins of the Golakhpur hoard, are absent on the present coins.

1. *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., 1934, pp. 12-13, pl. I-III.

2. *J. N. S. I.*, III, p. 47; V. pp. 13-16.

3. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 15 ff.

The Elephant which occurs on coin No. 1 and possibly on No. 5 is a common symbol on the punch-marked coins; so is the Circle flanked by taurines, occurring on coins Nos. 2-4, which is common on later coins. The Bow with arrow strung is, however, a rather rare symbol and occurs on class 4 varieties a and b of the British Museum Catalogue. The insect with many feet at the top of coin No. 5 is rather rare on the obverse; it occurs on class 6, Group VI, varieties a, b and f of the British Museum Catalogue.

The symbol, Four Buds in a tank, occurring on coin No. 3 is a new symbol. So is the animal, most probably tortoise, surrounded by dots or circles. This symbol is similar to that of the ox-head surrounded by circles occurring on some of the punch-marked coins in the Golakhpur (Patna) hoard. It may be, however, added that while on some of the coins of this hoard the symbol is clearly that of the ox-head (e. g. Pl. 11 no. 83 of *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1919), it distinctly resembles the present symbol on some other coins in that hoard (e. g. Pl. 11 No. 81).

The size and symbols of the present coins suggest that they are nearer in type and time to those of the Golakhpur hoard than those of the later period. They resemble the early Kōśāla coins only in their size, and not in their nature. We may tentatively place them in c. 400 B. C.

No. 1 resembles in its symbols Class 1 and Class 6, Group III, variety a of the British Museum in having the Sun, the Six-armed symbol and the Elephant, but its 4th and most characteristic symbol, Animal surrounded by dots, does not occur on the British Museum coins. The Six-armed Symbol also is of a different variety. Nos. 2 and 4 resemble Class 2, Group X, varieties a and b and Class 4 of the British Museum in having the Sun, the Six-armed Symbol and the Bow and arrow, but they differ from them in having the animal surrounded by dots. Their fifth symbols also does not occur on Class 2 of the British Museum. No. 4 bears a close resemblance to Class 6, Group 1, variety d of the British Museum. Besides the Sun and the Six-armed Symbol, both these have the Circle flanked by taurines (partly visible on our coin). The symbol, Four Buds in the tank, on our coin is replaced by Four Fish in the tank in the British Museum piece. The latter has Bull instead of the Animal surrounded by dots on the present piece. Coin No. 5 resembles Class 6, Group VI, varieties c and d and Group VII, variety f in having the Animal with many feet on the obverse. If its indistinct animal is Bull, it will be closer to Class 6, Group II, variety c, which has that animal. It will be different from it however in having the Animal surrounded by dots as the fifth symbol.

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It is likely that there may be more coins of this type in private and museum collections. If they are published, we shall be able to know whether the Sun, the Six-armed Symbol and the Animal surrounded by dots is a common characteristic of the coins of this class. It would be worth knowing whether the symbol, Four Buds in a lake, occurs on any of them. I trust that private collectors and museum curators will re-examine their collections to find out whether they have any coins of this class and take early steps to publish them in this *Journal*, if they have any.

SOME NEW HERMAIOS-KUJULA KADPHISES COINS.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES.

How precisely the Greek rule came to an end in India and what were the relations between Hermaios, who is usually presumed to be the last Greek ruler and Kujula Kadphises, who was the first ruler of the Kushāna dynasty, are problems that have been engaging the attention of scholars for nearly a century. No satisfactory answer to them, that can be universally accepted, has however yet been found. The evidence of the coin types seems to suggest that Kujula Kadphises gradually expanded his power at the cost of Hermaios and eventually supplanted him. For we have got the coins of Hermaios alone, then of Hermaios with his own name and bust on the obverse and the name of Kujula Kadphises on the reverse; then come the coins with the bust of Hermaios but the name of Kadphises on the obverse in Greek and the name of the same ruler on the reverse also in Kharoshthi. Finally, we have the coins of Kadphises alone, his name appearing both on the obverse and reverse. The evidence supplied by this series of types seems *prima facie* to be conclusive in showing that Hermaios associated or was compelled to associate one Kujula Kadphises in his government towards the end of his reign, and that the new partner in the administration eventually supplanted him either in his life time or soon after his death. This was the view which the late Mr. Rapson had advocated in his *Indian Coins*, p. 16, published in 1898.

Later on, however, when he had an occasion to write on the same subject in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 560-2, he admitted that the above view was not the correct one, and that the Kabul valley was in possession of the Parthians for a few decades during the interval between the downfall of Hermaios and the rise of Kujula Kadphises. He pointed out that the coins which bear the names of Hermaios must, if we judge from their style and fabric, extend over a long period, and that they were mechanically copied by Kujula Kadphises to supply his first issues in the Kabul valley. Rapson points out that the last issues issued by Hermaios during the concluding days of his reign, when his power was tottering, are those which bear his old age bust on the obverse and Heracles standing on the reverse. This type was later on mechanically copied by Kadphises I. In the beginning he was content to have his name on the reverse; but later on

he put it on the obverse also. This coin type was continued, says Rapson, by Kadphises until a much later date in the same way and for the same reasons for which the East India Company continued for many years to strike rupees bearing the name of the Moghul emperor Shah Alam. The people were accustomed to this type and the new conqueror realised that there was a chance for his currency being accepted by the public, only if it resembled the old one in its essential features.

Archæological and other evidences have now shown that the Parthian rule intervened between the Indo-Greek and the Kushāna rule at Taxila. It is, therefore, clear that the correct view is that the so-called joint coins of Hermaios and Kadphises I are not really an instance of joint coinage, but merely mechanical copies of the type of Hermaios, which were popular in the Kabul valley. The coins of this type which have been so far published in the catalogues, e. g. *The British Museum Catalogue*, *the Punjab Museum Catalogue*, *the Indian Museum Catalogue*, etc., do not give us a vivid idea of the mechanical process of imitation of the once popular type. If we examine the coins illustrated in the above catalogues, we shall find that the bust of the obverse bears a certain fairly recognisable similarity with the old age bust of the last Greek ruler. If we consider the coins alone, we have still to concede the possibility of all these coins having been issued during the course of a single generation. All of them have a fairly legible Greek legend as well.

During my visit to Taxila in December 1945, Mr. Amalanand Ghosh, M. A., Superintendent, Excavation Branch, Archæological Survey of India, gave me for examination some copper coins of the Hermaios-Kadphises type found at Taxila in the fields. They are all copper and of a smaller denomination than those that have been so far published. After examining them, I found that they would be giving us a clearer idea of the mechanical process of copying than those published already. With the kind consent of Mr. Ghosh, I have, therefore, decided to publish them here.

On all the published coins of this type, as observed already, there is a certain recognisable resemblance between the features of Hermaios and those of the bust appearing on the later imitations. The most remarkable thing about the five coins that are published here is that in most cases the features of the busts bear hardly any resemblance to those of Hermaios. The features of **Pl. IB, 1** have perhaps some resemblance with that of the latter. But in the case of **Pl. IB, 2**, the bust is facing front, which is not the case with the prototype or with any coins of this type published so far. In the case of **Pl. IB, 3** the bust seems to be in imitation of the well-known Roman bust,

which appears on one of the types of Kujula Kadphises. The reverse of this coin, however, does not show the king seated right on a seat-like curule chair with right arm extended, as is the case with the Roman bust type, but Heracles standing, which occurred on the proto-type of Hermaios. In the case of **PI IB, 4** the resemblance between the features of the coin and those of Hermaios is too remote to be readily recognised. The climax of barbarousness is perhaps reached in **PI IB, 5**. The king seems to be wearing a cap with dotted borders. He faces right, as is the case with the Heramios' bust in the proto-type; but he has very thick lips and a very long and prominent nose. There is no similarity whatsoever between his features and those of Hermaios.

The crudeness of art, the absence of any recognisable resemblance in features, and the total degradation of the Greek legend on the obverse make it clear that these coins could not have been issued as a joint coinage of Hermaios and Kujula Kadphises. They were obviously issued some decades after the passing away of Hermaios, whose coin type is sought to be continued on them. It is interesting to note that the degeneration on the reverse, where the name of Kujula occurs in Kharoshthi, is not so great as that on the obverse, where Greek letters and an unfamiliar and much degraded bust had to be imitated. Heracles on the reverse, however, is clear on all the five coins; the club is easily recognisable; only the lion's skin hanging down from the left hand has not been properly represented.

The British Museum Catalogue and *The Indian Museum Catalogue* do not record the weight of the coins of the Hermaios-Kadphises type published in them. The Punjab Museum coins of this type vary in size from .9 to .95 inch, and their weights vary from 97 to 156 grains. The coins of the present lot are smaller both in size and weight. The weight of the heaviest among them, **PI. IB. 2**, is only 87 grains and that of the highest, **PI. IB, 4**, is 40 grains. This will show that the type was issued in several denominations.

If the Parthian rulers succeeded the Indo-Bactrians in the Kabul valley and Taxila, and if the Hermaios type was so popular there as to render its imitation obligatory for the Kushānas, we may well ask as to why this type was not imitated by the Indo-Parthian rulers who were the immediate successors of the Greeks. The reason is not far to seek. It is now well recognised that the Indo-Parthian rulers, Azes, Azilises, Gondopharnes, etc. entered India through the Bolon pass and gradually extended their power up the Indus in the course of time. In the districts and provinces of India, which they conquered first, the Hermaios type was not current.

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The little kingdom of Harmaios did not extend to the middle or lower Indus. The Indo-Parthian conquerors, therefore, did not come into contact with this type till a late period of their career, when they succeeded in conquering Taxila and the Kabul valley. By this time they had already established their normal coin type, king on the horseback on the obverse and some deity on the reverse. They were not prepared to change it for the convenience of the residents of a new province recently added to their kingdom. The case of the Kushānas was however different. They entered India via Khaibar pass. They had no coinage, or script of their own. When they conquered the Kabul valley, they found it necessary to issue coinage for their new subjects, who were long accustomed to it. Having no numismatic traditions of their own, they naturally preferred to mechanically imitate a type which was current in the Kabul valley. It appears that in some important cities, in spite of the intervening rule of about 75 years of the Parthians, some mint mechanics were left, who were familiar with the old Greek traditions and methods. They manufactured coins of the types already published in the British Museum, the Indian Museum and the Punjab Museum Catalogues, which bear a fairly close resemblance to the original prototype. In some places, however, the artists were quite new to the task and unfamiliar to the methods. They could manufacture coins of a very rude type only, like those which are being published in this paper. Some of them knew neither Greek nor Kharoshthi scripts. They were responsible for manufacturing coins like Pl. I B, 5 of this paper.

We close this paper with a description of the coins. We have to add that the photographs are in some cases slightly smaller in size than the originals.

Coin No. 1. Metal, copper ; size, more oval than circular, .6" .75"; weight, 81 grains.

Obverse : bust of the king facing right, head having large hair, some falling down to the shoulders ; traces of circular Greek legend ; it is merely an unintelligent copy of some of the letters of the original legend. Letters λ and γ are visible at ix.

Reverse : Heracles, proudly standing, facing front ; club in right hand ; lion's skin, clumsily represented, falling from the left.

Pl. I B, 1.

Coin No. 2. Metal, copper ; size roughly circular .7" in diameter ; weight, 87 grains.

Obverse : Traces of a rude bust facing front, having no resemblance to any face of Hermaios. Traces of some letters of the Greek legend, [KOZO] λΟ K[ΑΔΦΙC].

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Reverse: Heracles, as on No. 1, but not so proud in his demeanour; three letters *Kujula* of the legend *Kujula Kashasa Kuśhānayavugasa dhramaṭhitasa*, beginning at xii.

Pl. I B, 2.

Coin No. 3. Metal, copper; size circular, but truncated at the bottom; 7" in diameter; weight, 70 grains.

Obverse: Bust of the king resembling more that of Augustus than that of Hermaios; some traces of Greek letters in the upper left corner.

Reverse: Heracles standing as on No. 1 and 2. The original coin shows traces of the letters *julaka* of the legend mentioned above; being blurred they have not come on the plate.

Pl. I. B, 3.

Coin No. 4. Metal, copper; size, roughly circular, 7" in diameter; weight, 40 grains.

Obverse: Bust of the king, but not similar to any on the earlier three coins; traces of Greek legend.

Reverse: as above; traces of Kharoshṭhi legend on the right side.

Pl. I B, 4.

Metal, copper; size, circular, 6" in diameter; weight, 42 grains.

Obverse: bust of the king facing right; lips thick, nose very long; the king wears a cap with a peculiar double dotted border; some traces of Greek legend.

Reverse: Heracles, as on above coins; no traces of Kharoshṭhi legend.

Pl. IB, 5.

A NEW SPECIMEN OF THE BOW IN-BOW-CASE TYPE OF MAUES.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES.

One of the rarest types of the coins of King Maues, who was one of the earliest Scythian invaders of north-western India, is the one which has Horse to right on the obverse and a Bow in Bow-case on the reverse. The British Museum Catalogue of the coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of India and Bactria describes (p. 72) a coin of this type but does not illustrate it. Cunningham has published a coin of this type in his *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, p. 33, and Pl. 11, 15. A third specimen was published in the *P. M. C.* I, p. 103 and Pl. X, 35. A fourth coin of the type was found in the Taxila excavations and published in *A. S. R.* 1914-5, Pl. XXV, 18. I am publishing today a 5th specimen of this type, recently acquired for the cabinet of the Benares Hindu University from Mr. Govinda Ram, a coin-dealer of Rawalpindi.

The present type throws a considerable light on the career and nationality of Maues. This ruler is so far known to have issued 24 coin types. Only on three of them do we find the smaller legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ; all the rest have the fuller legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ, attesting to the imperial position of the issuer.

Three types of Maues, where the legend is shorter, are the following:—

1. Elephant's Head and the Caduceus type, which is in imitation of the coins of Demetrios.
2. The Apollo and Tripod type, which is in imitation of a well-known type issued by Apollodotus.
3. The Bow in Bow-case type which is in imitation of the well-known type of Arsaces, illustrated in *B. M. C.*, XXXII, 12.

It is now generally admitted that Maues was originally in the service of the Parthians, and entered India perhaps as their general or viceroy through the Bolon pass. The three types mentioned above throw interesting light on the career of this military adventurer. Of these types the 3rd one, a new specimen of which is being illustrated in this paper, was probably issued by Maues, earliest in his career while he was still recognising the suzerainty of the Parthians and had not yet launched upon a career of expansion towards India.

He was perhaps still somewhere in Seistan or Baluchistan, and professed to be merely a viceroy and therefore issued a type in close imitation of that of Arsaces Theos, illustrated in *B. M. C.*, XXXII, 12. There is a striking resemblance between this prototype and the coin we are publishing today. Both have on the obverse Horse to right and a Greek legend. In the case of the prototype, the legend is longer and gives the full divine title of the founder of the Arsekidan family. Maues however was still a subordinate viceroy and had to be content with the simple legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ. He dare not assume any imperial titles as long as Mithradates the Great was living, i.e. down to c. 88 B. C. In the case of the reverse of the prototype of our coin, there is Bow in Bow-case in a border of fillet. Maues retained the central type, but replaced the ornamental fillet border by a Kharoshthi legend, in order that the type should conform to the established practice in India.

The present coin was probably issued by Maues very early in his career. That is probably the reason why the type is so rare. Probably it prevailed in Seistan for a while, and it is not unlikely that its present specimen reached Rawalpindi from that locality.

Lower and Middle Indus regions were the first ones to be annexed by Maues. It is well-known how Demetrios and Apollodotus had either jointly or severally annexed this territory during the period of the expansion of the Bactrian power. The coins of these rulers must have been quite common in the lower and middle Indus valley, and it is but natural that Maues should have imitated their coins and of nobody else. It is very likely that these two coin-types were issued by Maues early in his career, when he still dare not assume imperial titles owing to his relations with his powerful suzerain Mithradates the Great.

As, however, Maues became more and more powerful owing to larger and larger additions to his kingdom, and as he went further and further out of the reach of his imperial overlord, he discarded all these three types, where we find him content with the simple title Basileos, and issuing numerous new types, with full imperial titles, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

The present type of coin is thus an important document throwing light on the earlier and humbler stage of the career of Maues. I am therefore publishing its fifth known specimen.

Metal, copper ; size, rectangular, .75" x .6" ; weight, 75 grains.

Obverse : Horse walking to right ; Greek legend ; on the right, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ to be read from inside the coin ; on the left, ΜΑΥΟΥ, to be read from outside the coin.

Reverse : Bow in Bow-case ; Kharoshthi legend ; on the right *maharajasa* ; on the left *Moasa*, both to be read from inside the coin ; Greek monogram N with a vertical line cutting across its slanting line. **Pl. IB, 6.**

As compared to the P. M. coin, this coin is smaller, being $\cdot 75'' \times \cdot 6''$, the former being a square of $\cdot 8''$. Its weight is, however, nine grains more than that of the P. M. The horse is hardly recognisable on the P. M. coin ; it is quite distinct on the present one. The legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ has not been preserved at all on the P. M. coin ; it is fairly clear on our piece. The name of the king, however, ΜΑΥΟΥ is a little clearer on the P. M. coin. The Kharoshthi legend as well as the Greek monogram on the reverse are much better preserved on our coin than on the P. M. piece.

The B. M. coin being not illustrated cannot be fully compared. Like the P. M. coin it is square and not rectangular ; it has got the same legends and monogram. We do not know the state of its preservation.

A COIN OF LAKHAṆA (?) UDAYADITYA.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BANARES.

The history of the Hūṇas is still shrowded in considerable obscurity. Two of their rulers, Toramāṇa and Mihirakula are well-known to us from their coinage; they are also referred to in inscriptions and literature. There were however a number of other Hūṇa rulers, ruling in the Punjab and Rajputana, who are known to us only from their coinage. Their time and location is still uncertain.

Among the kings of this category is Rājā Lakhaṇa (?) Udayāditya. So far he was known to us only from two coins, which were published long ago in 1838 in Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I, p. 411. Thomas, who has edited these essays, tells us that these coins belonged to the collection of Col. Abbot of the Bengal army, mainly gathered from the Hazara district of the N. W. F. P., of which he was in political charge.

No numismatic work or catalogue has subsequently published any coins of this mysterious ruler. I was therefore glad to get a coin of his from a dealer in Rawalpindi during my visit to the place in the Christmas of 1945. The coin was purchased for the Benares Hindu University and is kept in its cabinet. It is being published for its rarity.

Like the earlier two coins, the present one is also in silver. It is a thin and broad piece; its weight is 57 grains. It is circular in size with a diameter of 1.1"; the obv. side in the photograph in the plate is slightly bigger than the original.

The coin may be described as follows:—

Obverse: within dotted circular border, there is the bust of the king facing right. The king wears a peculiar conical cap; a crescent overlaps its front side, as on the other two coins of this ruler. A diadem is wound round the cap and its ends are hanging down behind the head. An earring of three pearls hangs down the ear and there is a pearl necklace round the neck. The features of the king are similar to those on his two earlier coins, but they look older than those on the wood-cut No. 3 of Prinsep. The legend is *Rājā La...* on the left side and *Udayāditya* on the right. The two letters following *La* are unfortunately blurred on the present coin and so we cannot say whether the name of the king was *Lamaṇa* or *Lakhaṇa* as thought by Thomas or *Latoṇa* or *Lanoṇa* as conjectured by Drouin. If *Lae-lih* was the pioneer Hūṇa

conquered, his coins would not show so much Indianisation as to include a full-fledged Brāhmī legend and a Hindu title.

Reverse: This side is blurred, but the photograph shows clear traces of an altar with an attendant on either side. The reverse of the two earlier coins of this ruler published in *Prinsep's Essays* has not been illustrated. But probably they also had the same objects.

Pl. I B, 7.

There is considerable uncertainty about the time and identity of this ruler. The Chinese sources inform us that the leader of the Hūṇa invasion which snatched away the kingdom of Gandhara from the Kidāra Kushānas was Lae-lih and one suggestion is that Lakhaṇa of the coins may be identified with this king. This view does not seem very probable. It is not likely that at so early an age, the Indianisation of the coin type could have advanced so far as we see on the coins of Udayāditya. The coins of the early Hūṇa period were like those published by Whitehead in *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, p. 481 ff. where we find either the Pahlavi legend alone or that legend with a few Brāhmī letters only and the Hindu symbols like conch, wheel, etc. It must have taken some time for the solitary Brāhmī letters to be replaced by the full-fledged Brāhmī legend. On the present coin we have also the Hindu title Udayāditya. When we remember how neither Toramāṇa nor Mihirakula took any such Hindu title, it becomes difficult to hold that Udayāditya of our coins was a predecessor of these rulers. We should therefore place him sometime after c. 550 A. D. A Kashmir king named Raja Lahkhaṇa belonging to the Hūṇa stock is mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgī*; but his *biruda* is Narendrāditya and not Udayāditya. It is not at present possible to determine his relationship with Lakhaṇa Udayāditya.

SOME RARE AND INTERESTING INDO-BACTRIAN COINS.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES.

The coins that form the subject matter of this paper belong to the collection of Mr. D. D. Ghosal, 85 Tantipara Lane, Santragachhi, Howrah. Mr. Ghosal was kind enough to send to me a large number of his Indo-Bactrian coins for inspection and publication, if found to be worth publishing. As the genuineness of the Indo-Bactrian coins is a subject upon which even experts differ frequently, I requested the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the former Director-General of Archaeology in India, to examine the coins separately and arrive at his independent conclusions. In spite of his illness, which unfortunately proved fatal, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit kindly agreed to do so. After separate and independent examination, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and I came to the conclusion that the eight coins that are being published in this paper are both genuine and rare and therefore worth publishing. I am accordingly publishing them here. I am indebted to Mr. Ghosal for allowing the coins to remain with me and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit for a considerable time to suit our other preoccupations. If all private collectors show equal interest in getting their coins scrutinised and published, there is no doubt that numismatic and historic studies will progress more rapidly.

A DIDRACHM OF EPANDER.¹

Metal, silver; size, circular; diameter, 1.05"; weight, 141 grains.

Obverse: Helmeted bust of the king facing right, crest falling behind the helmet.
Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, below, ΕΠΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Reverse: Pallas facing left, hurling thunderbolt by right hand; aegis on the left arm. Kharoshthi legend, *Maharajasa jayadharasa*; below, *Ipandrasa* PI. II, 1

1. The term didrachm is used here to denote the silver coins of about 150 grains issued by later Indo-Bactrian rulers. The hemidrachm is taken to denote the silver pieces of about 88 grains issued by them. Some numismatists describe these coins as tetradrachms and drachms respectively of a lower weight standard. According to the early standard, a drachm was of 67.2 grains and a tetradrachm of about 269 grains.

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This is the first didrachm of Epander to be published and the coin is therefore unique so far. *B. M. C.* publishes and illustrates only a bronze coin of this ruler at p. 51; in the supplement a broken silver hemidrachm is described at p. 169 and illustrated on Pl. XXXI, 13. The *P. M. C.* publishes and illustrates a hemidrachm in entire condition (Pl. VI, 516), but has no didrachm. The present coin is therefore unique so far.

The features of the king on the present piece are similar to those on the hemidrachm published in the *P. M. C.*, VI, 516. Both the coins have an identical monogram.

Two years ago, Mr. Siri Chand, a coin dealer of Rawalpindi, had offered me for sale a didrachm, exactly similar to the one in the collection of Mr. Ghosal. It also had the bust of the king facing right and had on the reverse Pallas facing left and hurling thunderbolt. I cannot now recollect whether that coin had the same monogram as the present one.

A TETRADRACHM OF PLATO.

Tetradrachms of Plato are very rare. There is only one tetradrachm of this ruler in the British Museum, (*Catalogue*, VI, 11), and none in the Punjab or the Indian Museum.

The tetradrachm in Mr. Ghosal's collection is, therefore, one of the rare Indo-Greek pieces. Both its obverse and reverse are better preserved than is the case with the British Museum specimen.

Metal, silver; size, roughly circular; diameter, 1.3"; weight, 250 grains.

Obverse: within fillet border, helmeted bust of the king to right, the helmet having a crest falling behind; ears and horns of the bull on the helmet. Both ends of the diadem fall down under the helmet. The shoulder is covered with drapery. No legend.

Reverse: Sun-god Helios facing right, with rays issuing from his head, and driving a quadriga. The deity is clad in chiton and chlamys. Monogram in front of the deity. Below the feet of horses in exergue, MI only. Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΠΙ ΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

Pl. II, 2

The weight of the present coin is only one grain more than that of the B. M. coin. The features of the king on it are similar to those on the B. M. piece; but they are much clearer and sharper. The crest over the shoulder is clearer and more voluminous; one can, therefore, see clearly and distinctly the winding and coiled wires of which it is made and which go on

thinning towards the end. The border on the obverse on both the coins is similar.

The reverse has the same monogram as the B. M. piece. The legend is better preserved and more distinct. The most important point in which the present coin differs from the B. M. piece is in its having only two letters in the exergue instead of the three in the B. M. piece. We have only M and I; the initial P is altogether absent.

Can it be argued that the present coin is a forgery by a die-cutter who failed to notice the indistinct letter P on the B. M. piece? I think not. Both Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit and myself fail to find anything suspicious about the coin. The presence of two letters only in the exergue is not suspicious; M and I would give us the date 47 instead of 147 which would be given by PMI. This is just like the modern practice of omitting hundreds while giving the date and month; we usually date our letters, say as 1-12-47, when we mean 1-12-1947. It is interesting to note in this connection that on some of the coins of Heliocles, which are also apparently dated in the Seleuciden era, we have only two letters in the exergue instead of three. Thus on the *B. M. C.*, Pl. VII, 3, we have in the exergue $\pi\tau$ only, perhaps standing for 83, and referring the king to the year 183 of the Seleucid era, corresponding to 130 B. C. The same is the case with B. M. coin No. 5, referred to at p. 21 of the *Catalogue*, but not illustrated.

There is a close similarity between the coins of Plato and Eucratides. The portraits of both are strikingly similar. In his most popular type, Eucratides also bears a similar helmet with crest falling behind and adorned with the horns and ears of the bull. This last was a Seleucid device, pointing to a close connection between these two rulers and the contemporary Seleucid house. The title Epiphanos taken by Plato is obviously borrowed from that of Antiochos IV, probably after his death. The device of Dioscuri charging on the reverse of the coins of Eucratides presents an appearance not dissimilar to that of Helios driving the quadriga on the coins of Plato.

There is no doubt that Plato and Eucratides were contemporaries and closely connected. Plato may have been either a rival of Eucratides or his subordinate. Very probably the latter was the case.

The well-known tetradrachm with the bust and name of Eucratides on the obverse and the conjugate busts of Haliokles and Laodice along with their names on the reverse has been usually interpreted to suggest that Heliocles and Laodice were the parents of Eucratides, the latter being a Seleucid princess and the former a commoner. The name Heliocles

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is after the sun deity Helios. We have got the sun deity Helios on the reverse of the two tetradrachms of Plato, driving in a quadriga. Can it be that the presence of the deity on the reverse was suggested by the name of the father of the striker? In that case we can well assume that both Eucratides and Plato were the sons of Heliocles, who fought together against Demetrius and his party. The similarity of their features and coin types makes this conjecture very probable. Plato seems to have been the younger brother and may have issued his coins either after his elder brother's death or during his lifetime with his special permission. The date on Plato's coins, 147 of the Seleucid era, corresponding to 165 B. C., suggests that the coins concerned may well have been issued in the lifetime of his elder brother, who is quite likely to have continued to rule even after that date.

A HELMETED DIDRACHM OF ARCHEBIOS.

Metal, silver; size, circular; diameter, 1"; weight, 148 grains.

Obverse: Bust of the king to right, wearing a helmet with crest; Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, below ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ

Reverse: Zeus standing facing, sceptre in right hand and brandishing thunderbolt with the left; Kharoshthi legend, *Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa*, below *Archebiyasa*. Monogram.

Pl. II, 3.

The didrachms of Archebios are rather rare. There is none in the Punjab Museum, and the *British Museum Catalogue* has illustrated only two. In one case the king is diademed and facing right, (Pl. IX. 1) and in the other he is facing left, helmeted and thrusting a javelin (Pl. IX. No. 4). A didrachm with helmeted bust to right was unknown till 1923, when three of its specimens were published by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of that year Pl. XIV. 11, 12 and 14. One of these didrachms, (Pl. XIV, 14) had the additional word KAI between ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. The same is the case with the present coin.

The face of the king is similar to that seen on *B. M. C.*, Pl. IX, No. 4 and the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, Pl. XIV, No. 14. The monogram occurring on the present coin is to be seen on the coin of this ruler illustrated in *B. M. C.*, IX, No. 1. The weight of the *B. M. C.*, Pl. IX, No. 1 is 139 grains and of No. 4 it is 147.6 grains. Our didrachm weighs 148 grains.

STRATO I

The career and coinage of Strato I is perhaps more interesting than that of any other Indo-Bactrian ruler. It covers a period of about 65 to 70 years; it began at a time when the expansion of the Greek power under the house of Eucratides was still going on; it ended on the eve of the complete overthrow of the Greek power in the eastern Punjab by the Śakas. The coinage of Strato shows his portrait at many more different stages of life than is the case with any other ruler. We can see his features at the age of about 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 50 and 70; his portrait at the last stage is that of an old man with sunken cheeks and toothless jaws. In his middle age he had developed a taste for the beard also; for on one of his didrachms, we can see him with a beard as well (*C. H. I.*, Vol. I, Pl. VII, No. 21).

For many years didrachms of this ruler were rather rare. The *British Museum Catalogue* publishes only one (X, 10), and the same is the case with the *Punjab Museum Catalogue*, Pl. V, 355. Later on Mr. Whitehead obtained a large number of his tetradrachms believed to be from one hoard and ten of them were published by him in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, Pls. XV and XVI.

I publish today two tetradrachms of this ruler which are interesting in their own ways.

HELMETED BUST DIDRACHM OF STRATO I.

Metal, silver; size, circular; diameter, 1"; weight, 148 grains.

Obverse: Bust of the king to right, wearing helmet with crest; ends of the diadem falling down under the helmet; Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ; below ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ

Reverse: Pallas to left hurling thunderbolt with right hand, aegis over the left. Monogram. Kharoshthī legend, *Maharajasa pratichhasa tratarasa Stratasa.*

Pl. II, 4

This tetradrachm is similar to the one published in *B. M. C. X*, No. 10 but it is in a much better condition than the latter, and therefore weighs about 15 grains more. In the *B. M.* piece, the Greek legend on the left side and the Kharoshthī legend on the right side have not been well preserved; on the coin being published here, the whole legend is very well preserved. The monogram on the present coin is also different from that on the *B. M.* piece or on the *Punjab Museum* didrachm; it is however not unknown to the coinage of Strato, because it occurs on one of the copper coins of this

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ruler described but not illustrated in the *B. M. C.*; see Strato's coin No. 14, p. 41. It also occurs on some of the didrachms of this ruler published by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, p. 328.

DIADEMED BUST DIDRACHM OF STRATO I.

Diademed bust with thrusting javelin type.

Metal, silver; size circular; diameter, 1"; weight, 145 grains.

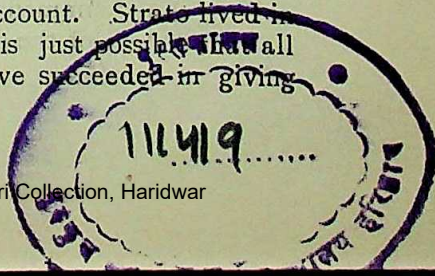
Obverse: diademed bust of the king facing left and thrusting javelin; one end of the falling diadem above the fist and the other below it; Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ; below ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ

Reverse: Pallas to left hurling thunderbolt with her right hand; aegis on the left hand; Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa*; monogram.

Pl. II, 5.

This didrachm is in many respects a very interesting coin. Didrachms of Strato with the king thrusting javelin are rare. Neither the *B. M. C.* nor the *P. M. C.* nor the *Cambridge History of India* has illustrated any variety of them. In the Kabul find coins published by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, he publishes and illustrates one didrachm of Strato, where the king is helmeted and thrusting javelin. This coin has been illustrated on Pl. XV. 13. But Mr. R. B. Whitehead has referred to a didrachm of this ruler, where the king is diademed and facing left and is thrusting javelin. He did not illustrate this coin as it was in a very poor condition. Our present didrachm exactly corresponds to the description of the piece not illustrated by Mr. Whitehead. It, therefore, appears to be the first coin of its type to be published.

It is possible to suspect the genuineness of this coin on account of the features of the ruler. The art is rather poor, and the features are also strikingly different from those on the didrachm illustrated just before (Pl. II. 4). We have however to remember that the features of this ruler on his different didrachms show striking difference. Thus *P. M. C.* Pl. V, 356 has features different from those on No. 359 of the same plate. *C. H. I.* Pl. VII, No. 20 is different in features from No. 21 of the same plate. We cannot, therefore, impugn the genuineness of the coin merely on that account. Strato lived in difficult and unsettled times, and it is just possible that all mint-masters in his long life may not have succeeded in giving



an exact representation of his features on the different dies struck by them. It is a pity that Mr. Whitehead did not illustrate the only other coin of this type so far known to exist ; in that case we could have compared the features as well as the monograms of the two pieces. It may however be pointed out that the features of the present portrait to some extent recall those on the *P. M. C.*, Pl. V, 359. In the latter case the king is a blooming youth ; in the present case he looks a little lean and careworn.

The monogram on the present coin is also interesting. It does not occur on any of the coins of this ruler so far published. Nor does it occur in the list of the Indo-Greek monograms published by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in his *P. M. C.* Vol. I.

A TETRADRACHM OF EUTHYDEMUS II.

Tetradrachms of Euthydemus II are rather rare. There is one in the Punjab Museum and one in the British Museum. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and myself are not quite sure about the genuineness of the third tetradrachm of this ruler that is being published here ; we, however, feel that it is more likely to be genuine than otherwise. The face is rather dull and has a frosty appearance ; it lacks sharpness and distinctness and so gives rise to some doubt. The features are also to some extent dissimilar to those appearing on the two tetradrachms so far illustrated. Its weight however is the same as that of the two published tetradrachms.

The features of the king on the published tetradrachms are those of a youth of about 25. On the present coin he appears to be a careworn ruler of about 35. This coin would, therefore, tend to show that Euthydemus II did not die early in his life during his father's internecine struggle with Eucratides. He appears to have lived for at least a decade after his father's death and may have led a precarious existence in some hilly district of the Punjab or Afghanistan.

I shall now describe the coin.

Metal, silver ; size, roughly circular ; diameter, 1.2" ; weight, 260 grains.

Obverse : within dotted border diademed bust of the king facing right : no legend.

Reverse : young and naked Heracles facing, ivy crowned ; he holds a wreath of ivy in right hand and a club in the left, from which lion's skin is hanging down. There is an object like a sword immediately below the club between the left leg of the deity and the hanging lion's skin.

PI II 6

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The sword like object below the club is to be seen also on the two published specimens of this ruler, but it is much more distinct on the present coin.

The monogram of the present coin is the same as that on the two earlier ones.

I publish now two more tetradrachms of Philoxenus which are not unpublished, but which have some interesting points about them.

PHILOXENOS: HELMETED BUST TYPE.

Metal, silver; size, circular; diameter, 1"; weight, 150 grains.

Obverse : king facing right with helmet having the ears and horns of a bull on it; crest behind the helmet. Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΗΚΗΤΟΥ, below ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ

Reverse : king riding on prancing horse marching right, both helmeted and diademed. Monogram under the horse; Kharoshthī legend, *Maharajasa apadīhatasa Philasīnasa*. PI II, 7

The monogram on the present coin is so far known to have occurred only on his square hemidrachms (e.g. B.M.C., XIII. 5). This is the first round diadrachm of the helmeted bust type to show this monogram. It occurs on the diadrachm in the *P. M. C.* VII, 576, but it has a diademed bust of the king.

PHILOXENOS: DIADEMED BUST TYPE.

Metal, silver; size circular, diameter 1"; weight, 148 grains.

Obverse : bust of the king facing right, wearing a diadem; Greek legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΗΚΗΤΟΥ below ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ

Reverse : on prancing horse marching right, helmeted and diademed king. The king can be clearly seen holding the reins of the horse. Under the horse, the same monogram as on PI II, 7. above. Circular Kharoshthī legend, *Maharajasa apadīhatasa Philasīnasa*. PI II, 8

This coin is identical in type with that published in *P.M.C.* VII, 576. Only the diadem arrangement is slightly different. There are two ways in which the falling ends of the diadem are shown on the coins of this ruler. In some cases both the ends are shown falling down parallel to each other as on the present coin and in *P. M. C.* XIII. 5, 7 and *P. M. C.* VII. 583; sometimes the upper end is deliberately raised to form a peak, as on Pl. II. 7 above and *B. M. C.* XIII. 6 and *P. M. C.* VII. 576, 577.

A NEW DIDRACHM OF NIKIAS.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

Nikias is one of the Indo-Bactrian rulers of the later period, whose history is shrouded in considerable mystery. His coinage and coin types suggest that he was closely connected with Hippostratus. Both have issued coins of the prancing horse type and the Dolphin type (suggesting a naval victory); the new square forms of sigma and omega occur on the coins of both along with the earlier round forms.

Silver coins of this ruler are still rare. The *B. M. C.* publishes no coins of this king in the white metal. The *I. M. C.* has only one hemi-drachm; it has a diademed bust of the king to r. on the obverse and a warrior fully accoutred to l. on the reverse. In 1923, Mr. Whitehead published in *Numismatic Chronicle* a new hemidrachm, similar to the one in the *P. M. C.*, but differing only in having the king helmeted instead of diademed; see Pl. XVI. 13.

The third silver coin of this king was published in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1940, pp. 108-9. It was a didrachm, having on the obverse diademed bust of the king and on the reverse, Athena facing and brandishing sword and thunderbolt. Its weight was 145.5 grains and size 1.1" in diameter. The Greek letters on it were in the earlier and rounded form.

I am publishing today the 4th silver coin of this ruler. It is a didrachm and belongs to the valuable collection of Dewan Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan of Patna. It was purchased by him in 1947 at my request from a dealer in Rawalpindi.

The new didrachm resembles the one published in 1940 in the *Numismatic Chronicle* in all respects, except that it shows the king helmeted and not diademed. The legend on the obverse is the same; on the reverse also we have the same deity Athena facing and brandishing thunderbolt by her right hand, and holding aegis over the left. The monogram on the new didrachm is the same as that which occurs on the helmeted hemidrachm published in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, Pl. XVI, 13. I shall now describe the coin.

Metal, silver; size, 1.1"; weight 158 grains.

Obverse: Helmeted bust of the king to right; crest over the helmet; both ends of the diadem hanging down; shoulder covered with drapery.

Legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
below, NIKIOY

Reverse : Athena facing ; right hand raised up and brandishing thunderbolt ; left hand folded and covered with aegis. Monogram formed by two letters V, crossing each other, one facing up and the other facing down.

Kharoshthi legend ; above, *Maharajasa tratarasa* below *Nikiasa*.

PI III, 1

A RUDE IMITATION COIN OF HELIOKLES.

BY SATISH CHANDRA KALA, M. A., CURATOR,
ALLAHABAD MUSEUM.

In the collection of the proposed Museum at Pauri in the Garhwal district of U. P. there is an interesting coin type of Heliokles. The coin was acquired by the writer in the year 1939 in a village near the Dharmājika Stūpa at Taxila and remained with him till his entire collection was presented to the Museum. When purchased the coin was in an excellent state of preservation. On enquiring about its provenance he was informed that the coin was found in the spoil earth which was removed in the excavations of the Dharmarājika Stūpa at Taxila.

The coin is a barbarous imitation in copper. It is not strictly round. The edges are roughly cut. On the obverse there is found the bust of the king encircled by an astralogueous border. The bust shows a robust human type. On the reverse there is the standing figure of Zeus holding a thunderbolt in his right hand. His left hand holds a long sceptre which is resting on the ground. The legend is ;—

Left, ΗΑΗΛΕΣ

Below, ΔΙΚ[ΑΙΟΥ]

Right, [Β]ΑΕΛΕ(ΩΕ)

Pl, III, 2

The name of the king is blundered on this coin as on other coins of this type now in the coin cabinet of the Central Museum, Lahore, and also like the bronze imitations of this ruler in the British Museum. The figure of Zeus on the present coin and those in the British Museum are similar.

The monogram on the present coin is different from others known so far. It is, therefore, a different variety and is thus worth noting.

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1. Whitehead—*Catalogue of the coins in the Punjab Museum* Pl. III, pp. 138-9.
 2. Gardner—*Catalogue of the coins in the British Museum*, p. 22.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

Mr. Kala's claim that the coin constitutes a new variety of the coinage of Heliokles is not justified. The monogram does not appear on the genuine coins of Heliokles published in the *B. M. C.* or the *P. M. C.* But the present coin does not belong to that category. It was issued some time after the overthrow of Heliokles by one of his Scythian opponents. Barbarous imitations issued by these Scythian chiefs are described along with the coins of Heliokles in the *B. M. C.*, but it does not mention the monograms occurring on them. Nor does it illustrate this type. So we do not know whether any of the *B. M.* coins have the present monogram or not. Cunningham has, however, published a coin exactly similar to the present one in his *Later Indo-Scythians* Pl. 1 no. 10. The size, the weight and the deity on both the pieces are identical, as also the monogram. The present type is illustrated only in Cunningham's *Later Indo-Scythians*, which is out of print; the coin is, therefore, worth publishing and illustrating.

It is also interesting from its findspot. Cunningham has observed in the above work, "Only a few stray specimens (of rude imitations of Greek coins) are found in the Kabul valley and none in the Punjab" p. 302. The present coin, however, was found in the spoil earth of the Taxila excavations. It would thus be the first coin among the barbarous imitations of the Greek coins to be found in India. It is important from this point of view. It tends to show that some of these barbarous imitations were current in India along with the regular coins issued by Maues, Azes and other Scythian rulers.

SOME VARIETIES OF TAXILA COINS.

BY MR. M. K. THAKORE, B. A., LL. B.

Bombay Civil Service (Jdl.), Civil Judge, Kopargaon.

The following uninscribed copper coins of Taxila are not represented in Allan's *Catalogue of Ancient Coins in the British Museum*, and so far as I am aware, they have not been published before and hence deserve notice.¹

No. 1.	Obverse	Reverse
	Crude representation of a plant and Crescented Hill.	Crescented Hill and <i>nandipada</i>
	Wt. 44.44 grains	S. '6"

Pl. III, 3.

The first symbol on the obverse, 'a crude representation of the elaborate plant,' and the second symbol on the reverse *nandipada*, are found in varieties *c* and *d*, Class 3 of the *B.M.C.* In var. *c*, the plant appears on the obverse with three more symbols and the *nandipada* on the reverse also with three other symbols. The crescented hill is common to both the sides as on the present coin. In var. *d*, the plant is on the reverse with hill and a small *svastika*, while the *nandipada* is on the obverse with hill and another symbol, looking like the Brāhmī letter *ryya*. The coins of this variety are square. The present coin however is round and similar in fabric and weight to the coins of var. *c*, *d*, and *e* of Class, 4 of the *B.M.C.*

No. 2.	Obverse	Reverse
	Crescented Hill and Mauryan <i>ma</i> .	Mauryan <i>ma</i> and Crescented Hill
	Wt. 44.12 grains	S. '6"

Pl. III, 4.

This is only a variation of the *B.M.C.*, Var. *e*, Class 4, the order of the symbols on the reverse being reversed.

There is another coin of this type with me which is smaller, being only 24.82 grains in weight and .5" in size.

No. 3.	Obverse	Reverse
	Crude Elephant to left ; Mauryan <i>ma</i> in the upper corner.	Crescented Hill in the upper left corner ; below,

1. I am indebted to Dr. A. S. Altekar for his kind suggestions in preparing this note.

hollow cross; to the
right a tree and
in the centre at the
top Mauryan *ma*.

Wt. 30.56 grains.

S. .5".

Pl. III, 5.

I think that the animal on the obverse is certainly elephant.¹ In front of the elephant, in the upper corner, is Mauryan *ma*. The reverse has a combination of four symbols, out of which three, the crescented hill, the hollow cross and the Mauryan *ma* are well-known Taxila symbols. The crescented hill in the left upper corner is not clear. Below it is the hollow cross, about which there can be no doubt. To the right is the fourth symbol, a tree which is of a type not yet met with. In the centre at the top between the hill and the tree is Mauryan *ma*. In view of the symbols, the coin can be assigned to Taxila with a fair amount of certainty.

No. 4.

Obverse

Reverse

Bull to right

Within ornamented
square border a
peculiar symbol
clear in the plate.

Wt. 25.23 grains

S. .54".

Pl. III, 6.

B.M.C. varieties *f*, *g*, *h*, *i* and *j* of class 5 represent bull or bulls on the obverse. Vars. *f* and *g* have plain reverse, var. *h*, has the same symbols on the reverse as on the obverse, while vars. *i* and *j* have lion on the reverse. The bull on all these coins however is of a different type. The bull on the present coin appears to be similar to the bull on the gold coin No. 169, Class IV of the *B.M.C.* There is however no Taxila symbol along with the bull.

B.M.C. varieties, *c* and *d* Class I, have on the obverse the plan of a courtyard of a monastery with cells around and *stūpa* in the centre, and the plan of a monastery with *stūpa* at its centre, respectively. I wonder if the present symbol is a type of monastery with a *stūpa* in the centre. Dr. Altekar has suggested that it may be an altar or an ornamented *Tulasī-vrindāvana* (without plant), both of which appear on Gupta coins. The only reason why I would assign this coin to Taxila is the presence of the bull and the provenance of the coin.

[1. The animal is too indistinct to be made out in the photograph or the plate. A. S. A.]

[A coin of exactly this type has been included in the *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of India and Bactria*, on Pl. IX, No. 13. It is a bronze piece, square in size, and has on the obverse Bull facing right within dotted border and exactly the symbol of the reverse of the present coin on the reverse. The weight of the B.M. specimen is not given in the Catalogue, but its size is .5" square, —almost the same as that of the present piece. Gardner has conjecturally attributed the coin to Apollodotus, probably because it has Bull on the obverse, as on a number of coins of that Greek ruler, and because the symbol on the reverse has some kind of resemblance to the tripod lebens, appearing on the coins of Apollodotus. The find-spot of the B.M. specimen is not known, but since it is included among the Indo-Greek coins, it may have been obtained in the North Western Frontier Province or the Western Punjab. Absolutely uninscribed Greek coins without even a monogram are not known, and it is therefore likely that the coin of Mr. Thakore as well as the one in the British Museum may belong to the Taxila series. The symbol on the reverse of these coins is not a tripod, though it bears some resemblance to it.—EDITOR.]

No. 5.	Obverse	Reverse
	Crescented Hill and pillar.	Mauryan letter <i>go</i> and Crescented Hill.
	Wt. 25.23 grains	S. .5."

This coin has been unfortunately lost and hence cannot be illustrated now. The symbols on the obverse, which were carefully noted by me, are the same as on *B.M.C. var. a*, Class, 1, the order being reversed; while those on the reverse are the same as on *var. e*, Class, 4. It may be argued that the second symbol on the reverse, pillar, is merely a part of the preceding symbol, Brāhmī *go*, and in that case the coin belongs to *var. e*, Class, 4. The two symbols however were wide apart, rendering this theory improbable. The pillar-like symbol is represented by a straight line and not by a curved one, as in the case of the coins of *Var. e*, Class 4.

SQUARE COPPER COINS FROM BALAPUR (C.P.)

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The four coins that are being published in this paper were kindly sent to me for examination and publication by Mr. Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Hon. Secretary, Mahakosala Historical Research Society, Raipur. They were found in the bed of the Mahanadi river at Balapur in Bilaspur district (C.P.) by gold washers searching for gold dust and beads, which are frequently found at the place.

Along with the four coins, that are being published in this paper, Mr. Pandeya had sent to me 16 other pieces, most of which were similar in size and fabric to those illustrated with this paper. Some however were too blurred to be studied. Such traces as remained, however, showed that most of them had elephant on one side and a human figure on the other, as is the case with most of the coins illustrated with this paper.

The coins are all uninscribed, and only their symbols can be used for determining their attribution. We shall discuss it after describing the coins.

Coin No. 1. Size roughly rectangular, $\cdot 7'' \times \cdot 6''$; weight, 46 grains; metal, copper.

Obverse:—Within a dotted border, elephant walking to right.

Reverse:—Two serpents with raised hood facing each other; a dot between their heads. Behind the serpent, to right, there is another symbol, which has come out only partially. It consists of a dotted crescent-shaped line on the left, another dotted line below, which is incomplete and a dot or knob in the centre. Probably there was another line on the left, as a counterpart of the line on the right, which has not come on the coin. There were four more coins of this type of different weights in the lot sent by Mr. Pandeya, but this symbol was not more complete on any one of them.

Pl. III, 7

Coin No. 2. Metal, copper; size, roughly rectangular, $\cdot 5''$; weight, 31 grains.

Obverse:—Elephant walking to right as on No. 1 above. The enclosing dotted border has not come out well.

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Reverse :—A human figure, probably a female, standing with hands on the waist. What appears as hanging down below the waist on the right and the left, are probably the ends of the upper garment. **Pl. III, 8.**

There were three more coins of this type among the coins sent to me by Mr. Pandeya.

Coin No. 3. Metal, copper; size, roughly rectangular, .4"; weight, 16 grains.

Obverse :—Within dotted border visible on the right side only, rudely sketched elephant to right.

Reverse :—The figure is rude and incomplete, but most probably it is intended to stand for a human figure akimbo, as on coin No. 2 above. There is some indistinct symbol on the left of the figure. **Pl. III, 9.**

Coin No. 4. Metal, copper; size, roughly rectangular, .55" x .45"; weight, 11 grains.

Obverse :—A very crudely sketched and blurred elephant walking to right.

Reverse :—A female figure standing, both hands on the waist; an indistinct symbol on the left. **Pl. III, 10.**

The present coins bear considerable resemblance to some of the types of the Sātavāhanas. The elephant symbol, which occurs on most of the coins of the present lot, is to be frequently seen on the Sātavāhana coins found in Andhradeśa. It occurs on types Nos. 17-21 enumerated on p. xxix of the Introduction of Rapson's *Catalogue* of the Andhra and Kshatrapa coins in the British Museum and illustrated on plates VII and VIII of the same work. Elephant occurs on Sātavāhana coins found in Mālwa, Central India and Chanda district of C. P. See Rapson's *Catalogue*, Pl. I, 5, 6, 7; Pl. IV. 57, 87; Pl. V. 90-93; Pl. VII. 171-7. The elephant on the Sātavāhana coins is usually with its trunk fully raised or half raised; only on some few coins found in Godavari and Krishna districts, we find it with its trunk hanging down, as on the present coins.

The Nāga symbol which occurs on the reverse of the coin No. 1 occurs on three of the types of Andhradeśa enumerated by Rapson on p. lxxviii-lxxix of his Introduction; Nos. 5, 23 24. It is however associated with lion or *Nandipada* or Chaitya and not with Elephant.

The female figure which appears on the reverse of coins Nos. 2-4 is so far unknown to the Sātavāhana coinage. A male figure however appears on some Sātavāhana coins found in Mālwa; see Rapson's *Catalogue*, Pl. I, Nos. 2-3.

The coins are on the whole much poorer in execution than the Sātavāhana coins.

In the absence of any coin legends, it is difficult to suggest a definite attribution of these coins. Since the coins bear close resemblance to some of the issues of the Sātavāhanas, it is possible to suggest that they were issued by some of them. The Sātavāhanas are stated by the Purāṇas to have once penetrated to Pāṭalīputra; it is possible that their hitherto unknown coins of the present type, which closely resemble some of their Andhradeśa types, may have travelled in the wake of their armies in Southern Kōśala and Eastern C. P.

The coins, however, appear to be more degenerated in type and execution than the Sātavāhana coins of the Andhradeśa. It is equally possible that they may have been issued after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas by local rulers in Southern Kōśala, who may have tried to imitate the Sātavāhana types current in Andhradeśa. In the present state of our knowledge, the latter alternative appears to me to be more probable.

A NEW TYPE OF GUPTA COIN.

BY MR. P. J. CHINMULGUND, I. C. S., BOMBAY.

I have, in my collection, a Gupta coin of a type which has not, as far as I know, been published so far. It is a gold coin of Chandragupta II, Horseman type :

Chandragupta II Horseman Type, Gold.¹

Obv. King riding on fully caparisoned horse to r. Sword (lash?) on his r. side. Crescent behind king's head. Circular legend,

Paramabhāgavata-[Mahārājādhirāja śrī-Chandragu]ptaḥ

Rev. Lakshmi seated to l. on wicker stool with *pāśa* in r. hand; left hand on the waist, holding lotus with a long stalk. No symbol. Crescent in front of the head of the goddess; legend *Ajita-vikramaḥ*, partly blurred. Pl. III, 11.

The coin is of variety B of *B. M. C.* and very similar to *B. M. C.* Pl. X, No. 12. The novelty of it consists in its having a crescent on the reverse to the left of Lakshmi's head. This is the only coin, so far known, that has a crescent both on the obverse and the reverse.

Mr. P. L. Gupta has recently suggested that the crescent on Gupta coins might be a symbol of sovereignty. Dr. Altekar in the same place has said that the significance of the crescent is still a mystery². It appears to me that while it is perfectly possible that the origin of the crescent on Gupta coins lies in the letter O in the original Greek legend, the Gupta mint masters having once adopted it, looked on it as a crescent pure and simple, an Indian symbol, and put it on various coin types. Whether they looked upon it as a symbol of royalty or not, it is difficult to say in the present state of our knowledge.

Though not directly connected with this matter, I would make some suggestions on the significance of certain symbols found on the coins of Andhras, W. Ksatrapas etc. I suggest that the symbols, the Sun, the Moon, Mountain (*chaitya*) and River (wavy line) found on these coins are meant to represent perma-

1. A photograph of both the obverse and the reverse of this coin will be published in the next number in Pl. VI. 1. Pl. III 11 gives only a sketch of the reverse.

2. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol VIII, pp. 38-40.

nence of the power of the dynasty or king who issued these coins. Thus the presence of all the four symbols would represent *Dharāsindhvarkasomāvadhi*, the mountain standing for earth, Dharā; the river for water, and by an extension of the symbolism, for the sea. The presence of the sun and the moon alone would stand for *Yāvachchandrādivākara*; and of the moon and star for *Āchandrātārakam*.

This idea of hoping for the permanence of a dynasty or for the permanence of a grant or a charter is quite common, as can be seen from the general use of such phrases as *Āchandrātārakam* in grants of land etc. and the representation of the sun and the moon in inscriptions. It will also be clear, in view of this interpretation, that the seven dots found in conjunction with the moon, e.g. on the obverse of the coins of the Western Ksatrapas etc., are meant to represent a star, and not a formal representation of the sun,—the moon-star combination and the sun-moon combination standing for distinct phrases conveying permanence.

COINS DOUBTFULLY ASSIGNED TO QĀDIR SHĀH OF MALWĀ.

BY MR. M. K. THAKORE, B. A., LL. B.

Bombay Civil Service (Jdl), Nandurbar.

One of the two coins, which forms the subject of this paper, is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and has been published by my esteemed friend Mr. C. R. Singhal in Vol. VI of this *Journal* at page 50, while the other is in my cabinet; **Pl. IV, 1**. The legend on the obverse is similar to that found on the coins of Mahmūd Shāh III of Gujarāt. Mr. Singhal has read the legend on the reverse as "Bahādur Shāh bin 'Adil Shāh Sultān" or "Qādir Shāh bin 'Adil Shāh Sultān". He has rejected the first reading, Bahādur Shāh, for the reasons mentioned by him, and has tentatively assigned the coin to Qādir Shāh of Mālwa (A.D. 1536-1542). It may, therefore, be permissible to submit for the consideration of scholars another suggestion which may supply a correct clue to the solution of this problem.

Unfortunately the coin in my cabinet also does not bear the full name of the king, though the lower part on its reverse is more legible than on the coin in the Prince of Wales Museum. The letter preceding what looks like *alif* appears to be *mīm*. It is, therefore, possible to read the name as Muḥammad Shāh. What looks like *alif* is the upper stroke of *dal*. This way of writing Muhammad is not unusual. I would refer in this behalf to coin No. 122 of Muḥammad Shāh II, **Pl. 1, P. W. M. C.** and to two coins in my cabinet; see **Pl. IV, 2-3**. The second possible reading is Mubārak Shāh, if what looks like *alif* is really that letter. *Kaf*, the last letter, is cut off. My submission therefore is that the legend on the reverse is:

السلطان محمد شاه بن عادل شاه

or

السلطان مبارك شاه بن عادل شاه

I must, however, state that the second reading is to be preferred to the first. In the first case I submit that these coins are the issues of Muḥammad Shāh Farāqī of Khāndesh (A. D. 1520-1535), who was invited by the nobles to ascend the throne of Gujarāt after the death of Bahādur Shāh, and in the second case they belong to Mubārak Shāh II of Khāndesh (A. D. 1535-1566). Both Muḥammad and Mubārak were the sons of 'Adil Khān

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Fārūqī. It will be my endeavour to show that historically this view is better supported than the view expressed by Mr. Singhal.¹

The coins disclose that the father of the ruler was 'Adil Shāh. Mr. Singhal has observed that the name of 'Adil Shāh as being the father of Qādir Shāh of Mālwa is not to be traced in any historical book. I may, therefore, be permitted to point out that the name of the father of Mallū Khān, which was the birth-name of Qādir Shāh, has been given in both *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī Firishṭa* in his history of Mālwa says:²

بعد از آن جنت اشیانی نصیر الدین محمد همایون بادشاه وقتیکه گجرات را مستقر ساخت و سلطان بهادر شاه گجراتی بجانب بندر دیب گریخت آنحضرت بشادی آباد مند و آمده خطبه بنام خود کرد و متعلقان خود سپرد بدان سبب که در جای خود مذکور گشته چون باگرة تشریف فرمود ملوخان بن ملوخان که از غلامان خلیج و کبار امرای ایشان بود زر آورده بعد یک سال از تصرف لشکر چغتایی بر آورده خود را سلطان قادر نامید

Again, in dealing with the history of Mālwa under Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, he says:³

صبح روز دیگر خود نیز عزم اجین نمود و بدریا خان مالوهی حکومت اجین ارزانی داشته بسارنگ پور متوجه گردید و سارنگ پور را به ملوخان بن ملوخان که در ایام سلطان مظفر از مندر رفته ملازم شده بود و در زمان پادشاه نهی شیرشاه سرور خود را خطاب قادر شاهي داده خطبه و سکه آن دیار بنام خود ساخته بود چنانچه عنقریب شهنه از احوال او مرقوم خواهد شد تقویر نمود

Briggs in his translation of the above passages has omitted to give the name of Mallū Khān's father.⁴

The author of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* in his history of Mālwa under the heading "An account of Mallū Khān, Qādir Shāh" says: "When owing to the death of Sulṭān Bahādur, there was disorder in the country of Gujarāt, and the country of Mālwa remained without a ruler; at about that time His Majesty Jinnat Ashīānī turned the bridle of departure from Āgra towards the country of Bangāla. Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān gave himself, in concert with the amirs of Mālwa, the title of Qādir Shāh."⁵

1. I had sent my coin and written to Mr. Singhal expressing my view but he could not accept it, and is still of the opinion that the coins must be assigned to Qādir Shāh of Mālwa. With due respect to Mr. Singhal, I feel convinced that it is not possible to assign these coins to Qādir Shāh of Mālwa, while they can be attributed either to Muḥammad Shāh or Mubārak Shāh of the Fārūqī dynasty. It is, therefore, after very careful consideration, though not without some hesitation, that I have finally submitted this paper for publication.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, text; Munshi Naval Kishore Press, Kanpur, A. D. 1884; page 270.

3. *Ibid*: page 220.

4. *Firishṭa*, Briggs' Tr. Vol. IV pages 271 and 118.

5. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Tr. Brajendranath De, Vol. III. page 617. Italics are mine.

In his history of Gujarāt he says: "Sultān Bahādur conferred the government of Ujjain on Daryā Khān, who was one of the old *amīrs* of Mālwa, and had formerly come as the ambassador to Sultān Bahādur, and advanced towards Sārangpūr. He bestowed Sārangpūr on *Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān*, who had in the time of Sultān Muzaffar gone away from Mandū; and had entered the service of..... and who in the reign of Shēr Khan had assumed the title of Qādir Shāh, and had the public prayers read and the coins struck in that country in his own name."¹

Again he says: "Silhadi's son fled from Ujjain, and went to Chitōr. Sultān Bahādur bestowed Ujjain on Daryā Khan Mandōwālī, and advanced to Rāisin. On the way he left Habīb Khān at Ashta and *Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān*, at Sārangpūr, and went and besieged the fort of Rāisin."²

The above references show that Mallū Khān's father was also named Mallū Khān and not 'Adil Shāh. Strange though this may sound, it has been repeatedly so mentioned by more than one historian, and there appears to be no cogent reason to doubt this testimony from original sources.

'Adil Shāh appears to be the name of a very high personage,— a title or regnant designation which ordinarily a ruler would have assumed. There is no historical evidence which might induce us to believe that Qādir Shāh's father was such as could have assumed this name. On the other hand the above extracts from *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* show that Mallū Khān's ancestors were slaves of the Khiljīs, elevated to the rank of *amīrs*; and that Mallū Khan had left Mandū and taken up service under Muzaffar Shāh II of Gujarāt. These facts indicate that 'Adil Shāh could not have been the name of Mallū Khān's father.

It will be seen that coins are known to have been minted by Qādir Shāh of Mālwa. The late Mr. H. Nelson Wright was the first to bring to light eight copper coins of this ruler, which he published in his "Addenda to the Mālwa Coinage."³ He read the legend on those coins as under:—

Obverse.	Reverse.
السلطان	السلطان
قادر شاه	بن
بن	۹۴۵
شاه اطعمر (?)	السلطان
مکتوب ۹۴۵	

1. *Ibid*, pages 357-358.

2. *Ibid*, page, 616.

3. *N. S.*, No. XI; articles 63, page, 316.

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He observed : 'Above the ط of the lower السلطان is the ornament figured as No. 21 in the Catalogue of the Indian Museum, 1907, p. 261, and above the ط of the upper السلطان the ornament figured as No. 23 in the same plate. The words following شاه in the third line of the obverse are a difficulty. None of the coins give them very distinctly. After much consideration I am inclined to think they may be a blundered ابن لطيف.' These coins are not illustrated but the marks and the legend show that they are of Mālwa style.

In his paper "The Coinage of the Sultāns of Mālwa"¹ Mr. Nelson Wright published four more copper coins of Qādir Shāh struck only in the name of Maḥmūd Shāh III of Gujarāt. Three of these Nos. 90, 90a and 91 are round, while one, No. 92 is square in shape. Mr. Singhal has also recorded four coins of Qādir Shāh in the name of Maḥmūd III, Nos. 107 to 109 of his paper "On Certain Unpublished Coins of Sultāns of Mālwa".² These coins are round in shape. The coins published by Mr. H. Nelson Wright and by Mr. Singhal are of the year A. H. 945. The fabric, calligraphy and weight of these coins are identical with the coins of Mālwa.

Mr. H. Nelson Wright has observed in his paper that Maḥmūd III is stated to have granted Qādir Shāh the right to strike coins but none are known in his own name. Mr. Singhal however has published in his paper two coins, Nos. 106 and 106a, which he has attributed to Qādir Shāh in his own name. Both these coins are square and of Mālwa style.

Now, undoubtedly, the fabric and calligraphy of the coins under discussion are the same as the Gujarāt copper coins of Maḥmūd Shāh III. The legend on the obverse is similar and written in the same way as Maḥmūd's silver coins Nos. 607 to 612 and copper coins Nos. 711a to 716, *P.W.M.C.*. The weight of the coin published by Mr. Singhal is 132 and that of my coin 129.79 grs., that is nearly equal to coin No. 712, of *P.W.M.C.*, the denomination being of 18 units. It will therefore be seen that these coins are altogether different from the coins struck by Qādir Shāh in his own name, and in the name of Maḥmūd Shāh III. They are directly imitated from the Gujarāt coins of Maḥmūd Shāh III. H. Nelson Wright has remarked that the square coins were the rule, and not the exception in Mālwa, so much so, that even Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt and Ibrāhīm Lōdī of Delhi were not above following the local tradition. Hence

1. *The Numismatic Chronicle*. Fifth Series Vol. XI, pages 48-44 Pl. IV (V).

2. *N. S.* : No. XLVII ; Article 349.

when the Mālwa coins of Bahādur Shāh and Qādir Shāh in the name of Maḥmūd III and in his own name are in Mālwa style, it is exceedingly unlikely that Qādir Shāh, disregarding the local traditions would have issued some coins in Gujarāt style.

For the reasons mentioned above I submit that it is not possible to assign the coins under discussion to Qādir Shāh of Mālwa.

It has been suggested that what looks like γ within الوسا on the obverse of my coin is the last numeral 7, of the year 947. I am unable to accept this suggestion. On the coin published by Mr. Singhal there is a dot in place of γ . There is neither any dot nor any mark on the silver coins of Maḥmūd III of this type, namely, Nos. 607 to 612, in the *P.W.M.C.* The copper coin No. 711a on pl. VIII of *P.W.M.C.* shows a dot which is rather too big. On one silver coin of this type in my cabinet, **PI. IV, 4** there is a similar mark γ . There are also two copper coins of this type in my cabinet, one of which has a small cross and the other a mark like crescent, as shown on **PI. IV, 5-6**. As a matter of fact on this type of coins of Maḥmūd III, the date appears at the lower end and not in the centre, as will be seen from coins Nos. 607, 711a, and 713 of *P.W.M.C.* and my coin **PI. IV, 5**. The illegible portion at the bottom of the coin published by Mr. Singhal is really the date, as there is no room for legend there. It, therefore, follows that what looks like γ is not a unit of a date, since it cannot be read on either of the coins.

It will not be out of place to refer at this stage to four copper coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, which were at first doubtfully assigned by Mr. Singhal to Maḥmūd II of Gujarāt,¹ then to Naṣir Shāh of Kalpi² and lastly to Naṣir Shāh Fārūqī of Khāndesh.³ The reasons given by Mr. Singhal for abandoning his previous views and finally assigning those coins to Naṣir Shāh Fārūqī are that relations between the Fārūqī rulers and the Sultāns of Gujarāt were very intimate; that the former were always under the obligations of the latter for their good will and support, which they were getting from time to time; that the legend on the obverse of those coins very closely resembles that on the coins of Aḥmad Shāh I of Gujarāt, and was probably copied from those coins and that the weight, fabric and calligraphy are quite identical with the copper issues of Aḥmad Shāh. I submit that these very arguments apply to the coins under discussion with greater force, and support the view I am advancing. Hence, as

1. *N.S.*, Vol. XLII, article 244.

2. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, page 132.

3. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. VI, page 46.

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observed by Mr. Singhal with regard to those copper coins of Naṣīr Shāh, I think that we must turn to the Fārūqī dynasty of Khāndesh, in order to study this problem.

There have been three rulers in the Fārūqī dynasty, bearing the name 'Adil Khān. The first of them, Mirān 'Adil Khān, ruled from A. H. 841 to 844 (A.D. 1437-1441), and was a contemporary of Ahmad Shāh I of Gujarāt. His son Mirān Mubārak I, had an uneventful reign of 17 years from A. H. 844 to 861 (A. D. 1441-1457). He was thus the contemporary of Muhammad Shāh II and Ahmad Shāh II of Gujarāt. The present coins, therefore, cannot be assigned to Mubārak Shah I. He was succeeded by 'Adil Khān II (A. H. 861-909 = A. D. 1457-1503), who was a powerful king and was the contemporary of the great Maḥmūd Bēgdā of Gujarāt. He left no male child to inherit him and was succeeded by his younger brother Dāūd.

The third Sultān named 'Adil Khān (A. H. 916-926 = A. D. 1510-1520) was married to the grand-daughter of Maḥmūd Bēgdā and was able to secure the throne through his influence¹. He was also a contemporary of his father-in-law Muzaffar Shāh II of Gujarāt and fought with distinction in the campaigns undertaken by him. It may be mentioned that it was during his reign that Muzaffar Shāh II struck coins from Burahānpur, the capital of Khāndesh².

This 'Adil Khān III had two sons, Muḥammad Khān and Mubārak Khān. Muḥammad Khān, entitled Mirān Muḥammad Shāh who succeeded 'Adil Khān, was the nephew of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt and "had been the constant companion and loyal associate of Bahādur during the whole of his reign and had for the past ten years participated in all great military expeditions conducted by the Sultān³." Bahādur Shāh had honoured him with the title of Shāh⁴ and had nominated him his heir and successor. The author of *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* says: "They said that the late Sultan (Bahādur Shāh) had during his life appointed him his heir apparent, having one day seated him on the throne and ordered the nobles and ministers of the state to do him honour, and that they had all obeyed. The Sultan had taken the course to publish the wish and desire that after him the rule and the kingdom may descend to him".⁵ After the

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1. *Firishṭa. Briggs' Tr.* Vol. IV. pages 303-304., *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī Tr.* Fazlullah, Page 76 onwards.
 2. Coins Nos. 440 to 443 to 490a, *P. W. M. C.*
 3. *History of Gujarāt*, by Khan Bahadur, M. S. Commissariat, page 388.
 4. *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, *Tr.* Fazlullah, page 169.
 5. *Ibid*, page 202.

death of Bahādur Shāh, the nobles of Gujarāt invited Muḥammad Shāh to the throne of Gujarāt, but he died within a few weeks.

No coins of Muḥammad Shāh have upto now been found. The learned editor of the *Catalogue of the Coins of the Sultans of Gujarat in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, is of opinion that *Firishta's* reference to coins issued in the name of Muḥammad Shāh, is not so reliable, on the ground that both *Mirat-i-Sikandarī* and *Aḥmadī* say with one voice that, as soon as Muḥammad Shāh heard the sad news of his uncle Bahādur's death, he was so much grieved that he stopped talking to anybody and resigned his life a few days after the death of Sulṭān Bahādur.¹ According to him, therefore, no coins were struck by Muḥammad Shāh because he died before he ascended the throne of Gujarāt. What *Firishta* says is: "The Guzerat officers, however, convening a meeting, resolved on inviting Meeran Mohomed Khan of Kandeish, nephew of Bahadur Shah, who was then in Mālwa, to ascend the throne, and without further hesitation, coins were struck and public prayers read in his name²." The author of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* also says: "The amirs of Gujarāt became perturbed on beholding this new disturbance, and took counsel with one another, about the choice of a *bādshāh*. As Sulṭān Bahādur had repeatedly expressed his intention of making Mirān Muammad Shāh, who was his nephew (sister's son), his heir, every one agreed to select him as the Sulṭān, and had the *khutba* read and the *sikka* struck in his absence. They sent swift messengers to bring him... Mirān Muḥammad Shāh, whom Sulṭān Bahādur had sent as far as Mālwa in pursuit of the Chaghtāi army, died of natural causes, a month and a half after the *Khutba* had been read in his name³." It, therefore, appears that coins were struck, not by Muḥammad Shāh himself, but in his absence by the nobles, immediately on their selecting him as the successor of Bahādur Shāh. This does not appear to be surprising, because Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, who had returned to Gujarāt on hearing of the death of Bahādur Shāh, was conspiring to usurp the throne of Gujarāt. He also had the public prayer read in his own name at Div,⁴ In order to meet with this new menace, the nobles of Gujarāt seem to have adopted the effective measure of reading *khutba* and striking coins in the

1. P. W. M. C., Note 3 (b) page XII.

2. *Firishta, Briggs' Tr.* Vol. IV, pages 142-148.
Italics are mine.

3. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Tr.* Brajendranath Dc. Vol. III, pages 382-383.
Italics are mine.

4. *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt*, pages 36-39.

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name of Muḥammad Shāh, who was not only the nominee of Bahādur Shāh, but whom they had decided to place on the throne. The fact that Muḥammad Shāh died a few weeks after learning about the death of his uncle does not in any way affect the truth of this statement. On the other hand, looking to the political situation of the time, this statement must be accepted as correct.

Muḥammad Shāh was succeeded by his brother Mubārak. Firishta merely states that none of the children of Muḥammad Shāh were of an age to take the reign of government, and his brother Mubārak, hearing of his decease at Burhānpūr, immediately *assumed the title of Shāh*.¹ *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* gives more details. The nobles of Khāndesh who had placed the infant son of Muḥammad Shāh on the throne, had handed over Mubārak to a nobleman, Ibrat Khān, for safe custody for the night, but Mubārak won him over, and with his help took the palace. He then, "taking his nephew (Muḥammad Shāh's son) in his lap ascended the throne, and sent a message to the nobles that the regency of the kingdom during his nephew's minority pertained to him..... All of them submitted. That day passed thus. At night he slew his nephew and in the morning, issuing forth, he sat on the throne by himself. The nobles came and did him homage, and with folded arms stood each in his proper place. *They struck coins in the name of Mubārak Shāh and his title of Khān became changed into that of Shāh*".²

After the death of Muḥammad Shāh the nobles of Gujarāt decided to place on the throne of Gujarāt Maḥmūd Shāh, the grandson of Muzaffar Shāh, who was kept in the fort of Biawal (Yaval, in Dist. East Khandesh). He was, therefore, summoned to Gujarāt. Firishta says: "*Meeran Moobarik who himself aspired to the throne of Guzerat, and to which his brother had been so lately elevated, threw obstacles in the way of the enlargement of the Prince Mahmood; but the Guzerat officers resented his detention so warmly, that Meeran Moobarik Khan was compelled from motives of policy to permit Yektiar Khan to take charge of him, and he was accordingly crowned at Ahmadabad in the year 943*"³.

In about A. H. 944, Daryā Khān who had taken Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh with him led an army against Imād-ul-Mulk, another powerful nobleman of Gujarāt, and defeated him. Imād-ul-Mulk sought shelter with Mubārak Shāh. The latter refused to give up Imād-ul-Mulk to Daryā Khān and gave

1. *Firishta, Briggs' Tr.* Vol. VI, page 813.

2. *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, Tr.* Fazlullah, page 207.

3. *Firishta, Briggs' Tr.* Vol. IV page 313. Italiosare mine.

battle in which he was defeated. "Then the Sultan (Maḥmūd Shāh) went to Burhānpur and Imād-ul-Mulk fled and sought shelter with Kādir Shāh at Māndu, the ruler of Mālwa. The Sultan remained for some time at Burhānpur and eventually made peace, *stipulating that the public sermon should be read and the coins struck in his name.*"¹

It will, therefore, be seen that coins were struck by Mubārak Shāh. This fact is also borne out by the condition imposed upon him by Maḥmūd Shāh after the former's defeat, to strike coins in the name of the Sulṭān of Gujarat. The fact also gets corroboration from the claim of Mubārak to the throne of Gujarāt and his efforts to that end.

It can, therefore, be concluded that coins were struck in the name of Muḥammad Shāh by the nobles of Gujarāt. Muḥammad Shāh, however, died shortly afterwards and Maḥmūd Shāh III ascended the throne of Gujarāt. In Khāndesh, Muḥammad Shāh was succeeded by Mubārak Shāh who also struck coins in his own name. The present coins can, therefore, be assigned to Muḥammad Shāh and in that case the coins of Maḥmūd Shāh of this type must have been copied from these coins. They can also be assigned to Mubārak Shāh of Khāndesh.

As stated above, the name of the ruler on the coins is incomplete and is to be reconstructed, more or less by inference. The name may be Qādir Shāh, but as shown by me above the attribution of coins to Qādir Shāh of Mālwa cannot be justified. It is possible to read the name as Muḥammad Shāh or Mubārak Shāh, and I have shown that these coins can be assigned to either of them. But, as stated above the second name deserves preference and hence I submit that the coins should, for the present, be assigned to Mubārak Shāh II of Khāndesh.

1. *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, Tr. Fazlullah, page 210. Italics are mine.

DATE OF THE RESTORATION OF THE HOUSE OF ILYAS SHAH

BY N. B. SANYAL, M. A., B. L.

Curator, Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi.

The *Riyāzū-s-Salātīn* presents the following account of the fall of the dynasty of Rājā Kāns and the restoration of the house of Ilyās Shāh to the sovereignty of Bengal :

REIGN OF AHMAD SHĀH, SON OF JALĀLU-D-DĪN.

"When Sultān Jalālu-d-dīn was laid in the grave, his son Ahmad Shāh, with the consent of the nobles and the generals of the army, ascended the throne, in succession to his father. As he was very peevish, oppressive and blood-thirsty, he shed blood for nothing, and used to cut open the bodies of pregnant women. When his oppressions reached the utmost limits, and the low and the high were exasperated to desperation by his tyranny, Shādi Khān and Nāsir Khān who were his two slaves and held the rank of nobles intrigued, and killed Ahmad Shāh; and this event occurred in 830 A. H. His reign lasted sixteen years, and according to another account, eighteen years.

REIGN OF NĀSIR KHĀN, THE SLAVE.

When the throne became vacant by the murder of Ahmad Shāh, Shādi Khān desired to put Nāsir Khān out of the way and to become himself the Administrator-General of the kingdom. Nāsir Khān, guessing his design, forestalled him, and slew Shādi Khān and boldly placing himself on the throne, commenced to enforce orders. The nobles and the Mulūk of Ahmad Shāh not submitting to him, slew him. His reign lasted seven days, and according to another account, half a day.

REIGN OF NĀSIR SHĀH.

When Nāsir Khān the slave in retribution for his misdeeds was killed, the nobles and the generals leaguings together, raised to the throne one of the grand-sons of Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn Bhangra who had capacity for this onerous charge, styling him Nāsir Shāh."¹

The fall of Ahmad Shāh marked the extinction of the dynasty of Rājā Kāns. After the usurpation and the usurper's overthrow which followed, the Ilyās Shāhi dynasty was

1. *Riyāzū-s-Salātīn*, trans., Maulvi Abdus Salam (Bib. Ind.) pp. 118-120.

restored under the rule of Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd Shāh I. In the account quoted above, the date of the assassination of Ahmad Shāh is given as 830 A. H. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* gives also the same date for the event.¹

As the coinage of Ahmad Shāh's father, Sulṭān Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh, continued till at least 835 A. H.,² the date of the death of Ahmad Shāh as given above cannot be held as correct.

According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Ahmad ruled for 16 years.³ According to the *Riyāz*, as quoted above, 'his reign lasted sixteen years, and according to another account, eighteen years'. So, if he followed his father to the throne in the year 835 A. H.,⁴ his reign according to this reckoning should be extended to either 851 or 853 A. H. On the contrary, it was found that the coinage of his successor Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh went back at least to the year 846 A. H.⁵ A doubt was thus raised if for the greater part of his reign Ahmad was not vigorously and successfully opposed by Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh.⁶ This, however, the Muhammadan histories do not say. In the account of the *Riyāz* quoted above, the successive course of events which led to the fall of Ahmad Shāh and the rise of Maḥmūd Shāh I to power, namely, (1) the assassination of Ahmad Shāh, (2) the usurpation of Nāṣir Shāh, the slave, (3) the usurper's overthrow, and (4) the installation of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh to the kingship of Bengal by the courtiers and the generals, is too distinctly and definitely narrated to be ignored. No suggestion is thrown in any of the Muhammadan histories about Maḥmūd's stepping to the throne through an opposition rule. It is also noteworthy in this connection that at least as early as in the year 846 A. H. Maḥmūd is seen to be claiming sovereignty over territories that lay almost at the gates of the city of Gaur.⁷ To reconcile therefore the apparent inconsistency, as noted above, recent historians have assigned to Ahmad Shāh a rule of 11 years, extending from 835 to 846 A. H. (1431-42 A. D.), and to his successor Maḥmūd Shāh I, 17 years, commencing in the year 846 A. H. and terminating in 864 A. H.

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, transl., B. De (Bib. Ind), Vol. III, pt. 1, p. 434.

2. *I. M. C.*, Vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 161-164. Coins No. 108 and 110 are of 834. Bhattasali: *Coins and Chronology*, p. 128 describes and illustrates a Coin of 835 H. the date on which is clear (Pl. IX. 5). The *B.M.C.* describes and illustrates a coin of the succeeding King Ahmad Shah, clearly dated 836 H. So, the *I. M. C.* Coin No. 104 of Jalauddin, on which the editor has read the date of 840 H must be dismissed as incorrectly read.

3. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, loc. cit., p. 434.

4. *I. M. C.*, Vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 161-164, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, pt. 1, 1873 pp. 266 and ff.

5. Blockmann, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, pt. 1, 1879, p. 269.

6. *Idem*, p. 268-269, R. D. Banerji, *Bānglār Itihāsa*, Vol. II, p. 184.

7. Sarkar, G. D., *J. P. A. S. B.*, NS. Vol. XIII, p. 151.

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(1442-59 A. D.)¹. These authorities have thus fixed the date of the transition in the year 846 A. H.

Very recently, however, the cabinet of the Varendra Research Museum at Rajshahi has received a new coin of Nāṣiru-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I, which bears a date in 841 A. H. This is as follows: Metal, Silver. Size, 1·125. Weight, 161·56 grains. A. H. 841.

Obverse—In double circle, with arabesques between,

ناصر الدنيا والدين

ابوالمجاهد

محمود شاه السلطان

No margin legible, except ۸۴۱

Reverse—In a circle

المؤيد

بنا بدار الرحمن

خليفة الاله

بالعبادة والبرهان

Margin cut and illegible.

Pl. IV, 7

This fresh discovery has thus upset the arrangement which had tentatively been adopted in fixing the chronology of the two reigns. It puts back the commencement of Maḥmūd's reign by 5 years and necessarily implies a further reduction of the length of Ahmad's rule by the same period. The question of the actual date of the transition is thus presented anew. A re-examination of this problem necessitates a reconsideration of the chronology of the two reigns, for the settlement of which the main complication lies in the apparent conflict between the traditional and the numismatic evidence.

The existing Muhammadan histories refer to no date in connection with the reign of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I. Regarding the duration of his reign, however, they record as follows:

Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī :

"The period of his reign was two years."²

Riyāzū-s-Salātīn :

"Reigning thirty-two years over Bengal, he passed away like others before him from the world, and according to another account, his reign did not exceed twenty-seven years."³

1. Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 267-68. 695; Stapleton. H. E., *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, pp. 189-90.

2. *Loc. cit.*, p. 484.

3. *Loc. cit.*, p. 120.

A date which can be fixed with any fair degree of accuracy in connection with Mahmūd's reign is the date of his death. The latest inscription of his reign is dated the 28th Zil Hijjah, 863 A. H. or the 26th October, 1459 A. D.¹ The earliest date ascertained for his successor Ruknu-d-dīn Bārbak Shāh is 864 A. H.² It can therefore be accepted as almost certain that Mahmūd Shāh died in the beginning of the year 864 A. H.

This date can thus be assumed as a well attested starting point to obtain a date for his accession to the throne which can be considered as satisfactory on the whole. The *Tabaqāt* assigns only 2 years to his reign. This is manifestly incorrect in view of the dates which have already been ascertained of his reign from his inscriptions and coins.³ If we then allow on the testimony of the first statement of the *Riyāz*, 32 years to his reign, we are brought to the year 831 A. H. for the commencement of his reign. This, however, cannot be accepted, because, as referred to above, the coinage of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh extends to the year 835 A. H. These statements being therefore rejected as untenable, there remains only the second statement of the *Riyāz*, according to which 'his reign did not exceed 27 years.' This testimony of the *Riyāz* takes us to the year 836 A. H. as the first year of Mahmūd's reign, and this is also the same year in which the only dated coin of Ahmad Shāh yet known was struck.¹ This reckoning thus yields a date for the beginning of Mahmūd's reign which does not conflict at least with the numismatic and the epigraphic data which we at present possess.

If, therefore, this testimony of the *Riyāz* be correct, it follows then that the rule of the house of Rājā Kāns terminated in the year 836 A. H. The grounds in favour of the rejection of the traditional account of the duration of Ahmad's reign as recorded in the *Tabaqāt* and in the *Riyāz* have already been cited above, the very short duration of his tyrannical rule is indicated also by the extreme paucity of his coins, of which only a solitary dated specimen has been known up-to-date, and also by the absence of any epigraphic record of his reign.³ Could this be possible if his reign was really so long as the *Tabaqāt* or the *Riyāz* states? In fact, the inaccuracy of their statements in this respect is being more and more deeply impressed in the light of fresh discoveries of the earlier coinage of Mahmūd's reign, necessitating further reduction

1. Blochmann, J. A. S. B., Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, 1872, p. 108.

2. Wright, I. M. C., Vol. II. pt. 2, p. 167, No. 185.

3. Sarkar, G. D., J. P. A. S. B., NS, Vol. XIII, p. 151, Stapleton, *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, p. 176; I. M. C., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 164-66.

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of the duration of Ahmad's reign to narrower limits. If, therefore, the testimony of the *Riyāz* which assigns 27 years to Maḥmūd's rule be correct, the duration of Ahmad's rule could not be more than 2 years, which time, as referred to above, the *Tabaqāt* erroneously attributes to the reign of his successor Maḥmūd.

Unluckily, we do not possess at present any more historical data which can throw any decisive light on the chronology of Ahmad's reign. Till further evidence is therefore forthcoming, the date of the fall of the house of Rājā Kāns and the restoration of the dynasty of Ilyās Shāh to the sovereignty of Bengal may reasonably be fixed in the year 836 A. H., and, the chronology of the reigns in this connection may be settled as shown below. It remains also to be pointed out in this connection that the *Cambridge History of India* makes Nāṣir the slave and Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, the first Sultān of the house of Ilyās (restored), one and the same person⁴. This is however contrary to all the authorities⁵.

SULTANS OF BENGAL

Chronology

A. H.		A. D.
835	Accession of Shamsu-d-dīn Ahmad Shāh.	1431
836	Assassination of Shamsu-d-dīn Ahmad Shāh.	1432
	Usurpation of Nāṣir Khān, the slave. Murder of Nāṣir Khān, the slave.	
836	Accession of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I.	1432
864	Death of Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd Shāh I.	1459

1. *British Museum Catalogue of Indian Coins, Muhammadan states*: 1885: Lane-poole P. 86.

2. The *B. M. C. Catalogues* two coins of Ahmad Shah one dated 836 H. and the other undated. I understand, there are two undated coins of Ahmad Shah in the cabinet of the Dacca Museum. Vide D. M. Annual Report for 1939-40. P. 11. A massive six-domed mosque at Muazzampur, near the ruins of Sonargaon, Dt. Dacca, was erected during the reign of Ahmad Shah. The date of the inscription is gone. See Aulad Hasan's *Antiquities of Dacca*. p. 54. N K B.

3. Sir W. Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 267.

4. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, transl., B. De. (Blb. Ind), p. 484, n. 5.

SOME DATA ON THE CURRENCY OF THE PESHTA TIMES.¹

BY N. G. CHAPEKAR, B.A., LL.B., BADLAPUR

It occurred to me that the account books still available in Mahārāshtra would prove a fruitful source of the authentic history relating to the Peshwa times. With this in mind I began collecting and examining the books, which came in large numbers. There are scions of ancient families in Mahārāshtra, who have still carefully preserved their valuable account books. I am particularly grateful to the Khasgiwale family of Poona, the Subhedar family of Kalyan, Dixit-Patwardhan family of Nasik, Chiplunkar family of Poona and Vaidya family of Wai. Chiplunkars' account books had been procured by the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal of Poona. Much material is obtainable in these books respecting matters, religious, social, economic, political and genealogical. Here, however, we are concerned only with the media of exchange then prevalent. It may be observed that these account books furnish valuable data for the student of currency, as we have hardly any official data to throw light on the subject. In the absence of a numismatic history of the Peshwa times, the account books furnish good reliable material for a study of the currency of that period.

At the outset it must be stated that in the times of the Peshwas, coinage was not a monopoly, either private or governmental. Not a few people were apparently licensed to mint coins, which naturally varied in their weight, purity and types from place to place. No wonder then that there was a plethora of coins of various sorts. Even in a single town various kinds of coins were in circulation. Obviously these were exchanged at a rate which varied according to the metal used in the coins. Generally, silver rupees were in circulation, though gold coins like *Mohars* and *Putalis* were not unknown. *Battā* was the Marathi equivalent of the rate of exchange. Those who dealt in exchange business were designated as Naiks, provided they were Brahmans. Others were called shroffs.

The following are the names of Rupees that I came across in the account books I studied:—

1. Ālamgīrī (आलमगीरी), (2) Ankuṣī (अंकुशी), (3) Arkāṭ

1. The article is translated from the original article in Marathi written by Mr. Chapekar for this Journal.

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(आर्काट), (4) Ārkāt-ganjīkoṭ (आर्काटगंजीकोट), (5) Ārkāt-phulchadi (आरकाटफूलचढी), (6) Aṭiche (अटीचे), (7) Baḍodī (बडोदी), (8) Bāgalkoṭī (बागलकोटी), (9) Bahuti (बहुति), (10) Bājarchalanī (बाजार चलनी), (11) Bāvaḍī (बावडी), (12) Bhaḍochī (भडोची), (13) Bhāṭvaḍī (भाटवडी), (14) Bhuṇḍe (भुंडे), (15) Belāpuri (बेलपुरी), (16) Chāndvaḍ (चोंदवड), (17) Chatarsingī (चतरसिंगी), (18) Chinchvaḍ (चिंचवड), (19) Dāṇe-chalanī (दाणेचलनी), (20) Daulatābādī (दौलताबादी), (21) Delhī-sikkā (देहली-सिक्का), (22) Ekbanduki (एकबन्दुकि), (23) Gajāpurī (गजापुरी), (24) Hālī-sikkā (हालिसिक्का), (25) Hāpis-chalanī (हापिस-चलनी), (26) Hukerī (हुकेरी), (27) Itāv (इटाव), (28) Kalyāṇchāl miṭhe, (कल्याणचाल मिठे), (29) Kāśī-sikkā (काशी-सिक्का), (30) Konkaṇ-chalanī chinchvaḍ, (कोंकणचलनी चिंचवड), (31) Mahamadshāhī (महमदशाही), (32) Malhārshāhī (मल्हारशाही), (33) Malkāpurī (मलकापुरी), (34) Mirjī (मिरजी), (35) Miṭe (मिटे), (36) Nāgāche (नागाचे), (37) Nilkaṇṭhī (नीलवंठी), (38) Panālī (पनाली), (39) Pañchmel (पंचमेल), (40) Panhālī (पन्हाली), (41) Pethchalanī (पेटचलनी), (42) Pharaśī (फरशी), (43) Potechāl (पोतेचाल), (44) Puṇe-chalanī (पुणेचलनी), (45) Rahimatpurī (रहिमतपुरी), (46) Sāhū-sikkā (शाहूसिक्का), (47) Sarkār-chalanī (सरकार चलनी), (48) Sarolī (सरोली), (49) Sipri-sikkā, (सिपरि सिक्का), (50) Sūrati (सूरती), (51) Talegāvi (तलेगावी), (52) Tris'ulī (त्रिशुली), (53) Turyāche (तुर्याचे), (54) Wāī-sikkā (वाईसिक्का), (55) Wasāichāl chandvaḍ (वसईचाल चंदवड).

I must not omit to state that most of the account books I consulted belonged to the latter part of Peshwāi.

Unfortunately traditional information about many of the aforesaid coins is nil and no documents are available, which would throw any light on them. We are mostly left to guess for ourselves. For instance, Gāḍīchā Rupāyā, Timbāche Potechāl, Petīchā Rupāyā, are terms absolutely unintelligible to the present generation. All these coins began to be melted since the time they ceased to be legal tender; hence correct information about them began to become scarce in the course of time.

It will be seen that many coins have received their names

from the place of their mint ; some are denominated from the figure inscribed on them ; a few are known from the name of the rulers who coined them first ; some names are significant ; e.g. '*Mithe*' means nice, good. *Bazar-chalanī* means current in the bazar ; similarly 'sanctioned by the Government' may be the meaning of *Sarkār chalanī*. *Dāne-chalanī* probably signified 'current in Dānā-bazar or grain market.'

The expression *Wasaichāl* rupee was very likely restricted the rupees current in the town of Bassein in the Thana District and possibly to the neighbouring region.

Bazar-chalanī and *Peth-chalanī* may have been synonyms ; but it will be unwarrantable to identify Poone-Chalanī with *Pune Sikkā*. I found *Pune Sikkā* coin mentioned in the account book of Mr. Jog of Bhiwandi in the Thana district.

What is *Potechāl* ? It most probably means 'acceptable to the Treasury'. From the examination of the various entries in the account books I am led to believe that *Potechāl* did not denote any specified coin. The term was used with reference to all sorts of coins, which were of undiminished weight and did not suffer from over-circulation. At times the word *Sarkārī* (Governmental) was used as a prefix to *Potechāl* or *Potechalanī*. There is not enough material to make the definite statement that the expressions *Sarkārī*, *Potechalanī* and *Potechāl* were identical ; for it seems from the Peshwa diary that the Peshwa Government at one time disallowed private minting and established their own mints—one at Dharwar and another at Nāsik. *Sarkārī Potechāl* may, therefore, mean coins issued from Government mints to the exclusion of those minted otherwise, though tenderable in Government treasuries. This inference will be correct, if we know positively that the adjective *Sarkārī* was never applied to the word *Potechāl* before the starting of the Government mints at Nasik and Dharwar. *Kore Pharasī* and *Hālī Sikkā* have been described as *Potechāl*. This corroborates the statement that no single type of coinage bore the name of *Potechāl*. It seems that the Peshwa Government had fixed the proportion of fine metal in the coin and the coin agreeing with it was *Potechāl*.

A *Chhāpī rupāyā* is another insoluble riddle. Literally *chhāpī* means stamped or impressed. But all the coins bore an impression. So the bare use of the word *chhāpī* would be meaningless. It is just possible that the rapid circulation would make the impressions faint. The people therefore must have been renewing the impressions from time to time. The following are the expressions which I noticed in the account books respecting the matter under consideration :—

- (1) 75. Rs. *Chinchwad Chhāpī*.

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- (2) $\frac{1}{2}$ anna as expenses of making *chhāpī* into *kore* (new).
 (3) One anna as *Baṭṭā* for making one *Wai Sikkā* rupee into a *Chhāpī* (rupee).

The first of the above expressions offers no difficulty. It means Rs. 75 of Chinchwad mint-impression.

The second statement presents some difficulty. Does it mean that the original impression, which had been effaced or become blurred, was, therefore, renovated ?

The third statement baffles solution. The word *Sikkā* itself means impression. At present there is no material to justify a distinction between *Sikkā* and *Chhāp*. We have further no evidence to say that the word *Chhāpī* denoted any particular type of coinage. It is possible to argue that the third statement is nothing more than a mere paraphrase of the second.

Chinchwad rupees have been variously described ; i. e.

Rs. 400 *Chinchwad-Konkan-Chalanī*.

Rs. 50 *Chinchwad-Bazār-Chalanī*.

Rs. 100 *Chinchwad-Peṭh Chalanī*.

Rs. 40 *Chinchwad-Puṇyāche* (of Poona).

Rs. 40 *Chinchwad-Chhāpī Sulākhī* (with a hole bored in the coin).

It seems that the same mint issued so many varieties of one coin, but what were their distinguishing mark we do not know. Possibly a distinction was made between *Bazār* and *Peṭh*. Certainly the two words are not synonyms. Therefore, the *Bazār-chalanī-rupāyā* must be different from *Peṭh-chalanī*.

Owing to the multiplicity of rupees, exchange transactions were frequent. It never occurred to the then Government that a single type of currency throughout the territories they governed would facilitate trade. There was no standard weight. Exchange simply meant bringing all sorts of coins to a common measure.

The following are the rates of exchange for different coins:

Name	Rate of exchange
<i>Malkāpuri-Chinchwad</i>	25 P. C.
<i>Mirājī-Rahimaturī</i>	25 "
<i>Pharshi-Malkāpurī</i>	25 "
<i>Ārkaṭ-Suratī</i>	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
<i>Sikkā-Potechāl</i>	31 "
<i>Trishulī-Nāgāche</i>	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
<i>Sikkā-Chāndwad</i>	5 "
<i>Bhatodī-Chinchwad</i>	1 "
<i>Belāpurī-Chāndwad</i>	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

<i>Chāndwad-Śāhuśikkā</i>	37	„
<i>Hāli Sikkā-Chāndwad</i>	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	„
<i>Kore Pharaśī-Chānwad</i>	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	„

There seems to be ambiguity with respect to almost every species of coinage. For instance, the word *Śikkā* is used quite vaguely enough. It means impression; but when used singly it often denotes coinage of the Nizam Government, which is popularly known as *Hāli Sikkā*. In the papers of Chiplunkars there is an entry entitled *Śikkā* coins comprising rupees of different denominations such as *Hāli*, *Chandwad*, *Pañchmel*, *Alamgirī*, *Malkāpurī*, and *Malhārshāhī*. This means that the word *Sikkā* was applied to every impressed coin.

We do not know what was exactly understood by '*Aṭche rupaye*'—an expression that confronts us while examining old account books. At one place Rs. 25000 have been described as *Aṭche-Mahamadshāhī*; another entry of Rs. 38,500 is particularised as *Aṭche-June* (old).

There is an entry of three annas representing expenses of making one Bombay rupee and three *Bhātwaḍī* rupees into *Chalanī* (current). The entry is of the year 1788 A. D. Does this mean that the coins were repolished or restandardised after examination at the mint?

One passage in the account book refers to the procuring of *Arkāt* rupees for distribution at Pandharpur; this shows that the rupees of the *Arkāt* mint enjoyed high reputation even in *Mahārāshtra*.

Gawāliyar, *Ganjikot*, *Ārakāt*, *Malkāpurī*, *Hukerī*, *Mirajī* are the names of some of the rupees which were current in Peshwa times. Evidently these names were derived from the places where the coins were minted. But there are expressions such as *Mirajī*, *Hukerī*, *Gawāliyar*, *Ganjikot*, *Ārakāt-Ganjikot*, etc. What do these signify? We have to remain content with mere surmises for the present; and I think *Mirajī-Hukerī* means a *Hukerī* coin minted at *Miraj*; likewise with *Ārakāt-Ganjikot*, and so on. This conjecture is partially borne out by an entry in the account papers of Chiplunkars. The entry is:—50 *Belāpurī* rupees of the *Malhārī-Sikka*. The latter was a rupee coined by one *Malhār Rao Raste*, and the rupees of his brand were minted at *Belāpur*.

Three more entries deserve scrutiny. They are all from *Vaidyas'* papers:—

- (1) 12-8-0 *Rahīmatpurī* rupees were converted into *Chāndwad* rupees, through a shroff, who received Rs. 3-2-0

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by way of *baṭṭā*; the rate being 4 annas per rupee. So, it came to Rs. 9-6-0. These had to be paid into Government Treasury. But Government again charged *baṭṭā* at the rate of 5 P. C. So the sum that was eventually credited to the payer was Rs. 8-14-6 only.

- (2) The second entry is to the same effect though of a different month.
- (3) The third entry relates to *Śāhu Śikkā* rupees (3-6-0), being converted to *Chāndwad* at the specified rate of *baṭṭā*; Government also charged on their own account one anna and six pies, which is also called *baṭṭā*.

Here we are not quite sure as to the necessity of *baṭṭā* being charged by Government. Moreover, in all the three instances the *Chāndwad* coin seems to be the medium. What purpose the *Chāndwad* currency served is more than what we can surmise.

More precise and substantial numismatic data are expected from an extensive and deeper study of different account books, and I earnestly invite the attention of those who are interested in the subject to this neglected source of history.

TO THE HONORABLE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

THE 11th DECEMBER 1902

MR. J. H. BURNES

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THE HONORABLE MEMBER FOR THE DISTRICT OF ...

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THE HONORABLE MEMBER FOR THE DISTRICT OF ...

N. S. I., 1947

Plate



1 0 BV



2 0 BV



3 0 BV



4 0 BV



5 0 BV

A NEW VARIETY OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS

B



1 0 BV



2 0 BV



3 0 BV



4 0 BV



5 0 BV



1 REV



2 REV



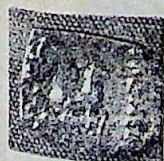
3 REV



4 REV



5 REV



6 0 BV



6 REV



7 0 BV



7 REV

SOME NEW HERMAIOS KADPHISES COINS

J. N. S. I., 1947.

Plate II



SOME INTERESTING INDO-BACTRIAN COINS



1



2



3

4



5

6



7

8



9

10



J.N . S. I., 1947.

Plate IV.



COINS OF QADIR SHAH (?) OF MALWA AND
NASIRUDDIN MAHMUD SHAH OF BENGAL.

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The aim of the Numismatic Society of India is to encourage the study and research in the field of Indian Numismatics. As stated in its rules, the Society is intended to be a co-ordinating body, which will promote the knowledge and facilitate the study of Indian Numismatics.

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The annual subscription, Rs. 6/-, becomes due on the election of a member and thereafter is payable in advance on the 1st January of each year to the Treasurer of the Society, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Life members pay Rs. 100/- or more.

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While transliterating, the following system should be followed ; ऋ ri ; ॠ ŋ ; च ch, छ chh, ज्ञ ñ, ण ã, श ś, ष ṣ

; द ढ ; द ढ ; kh خ ; ह ح ; ch چ ; ज ञ ; s ث ; t ت ; p پ ; b ب ; a ا
; b ب ; z ظ ; t ط ; z ض ; s ص ; sh ش ; s س ; zh ذ ; z ز ; r ر ; r ر ; z ذ
; y ی ; h ه ; w و ; n ن ; m م ; l ل ; g گ ; k ک ; q ق ; f ف ; gh غ

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EDITOR

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS¹

BY COL. H. H. SRI BRIJENDRA SAWAI MAHARAJADHIRAJA
SRI BRIJENDRA SINGHI BAHADUR BAHADURJUNG OF
BHARATPUR.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to inaugurate this session of the All-India Numismatic Conference. The work which the Numismatic Society of India has done in piecing together the scattered threads of Indian history is well known. Indeed, but for the untiring efforts of this organisation, several important facts of our history would never have been unearthed to this day. In the beginning, English scholars and administrators took the leading part in the work of the Society. But Indians soon came forward to take the main burden of the work and helped materially in furthering the cause of numismatic studies. I am glad to see that we have at present a large number of numismatists in the country, of whose work India can well be proud.

The world of Numismatics to me is almost a fairy realm, where a small piece of copper can unlock some secret door of knowledge and open a vast vista of new and important information. It is your privilege to revel in this magic world and to drink deep of its high romance. But of course there is also the other side of the picture. To me, however, it actually came in the garb of a fairy episode. One morning I heard that a large copper pot of old gold coins had been unearthed near Nagla Chella in my State. This Nagla Chella is a small village, some seven miles south-east of Bayana, and is surrounded by hills. I had lately been there on a small shooting expedition, and it certainly gave me the most pleasant surprise to hear that it was the shoot that had brought about the discovery of these coins. For, it was in their quest for empty cartridges that three children had suddenly lighted upon the edge of the pot, showing through the earth. Thus, on the 23rd February, 1946, by chance, the discovery of 1821 gold Gupta coins was made. I was delighted to learn that the hoard of the Gupta coins was not only the biggest, but was also unique from several points of view. It excited world wide interest and the authorities of the British Museum approached me with the request to permit

(1) Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held in Bombay on the 26th of December, 1947.

them to prepare a catalogue of the hoard. I thought over the matter and decided to entrust the work to an Indian, and so chose for the work your President and the Editor of your Journal, who is a recognized authority on the subject. It would perhaps interest you to know that all these coins have been classified, and I have now commissioned Dr. Altekar with the task of preparing the catalogue. I hope to give you the printed volume of the catalogue before your next session. As I am fully conscious of the unique nature of this priceless hoard, I have decided that the volume should be published in a manner in consonance with its rarity. My Government has decided to sanction all the necessary funds for this purpose. I consider it my privilege to be able to place before the world of scholars a work on Gupta History and Numismatics, which, I hope, will long remain indispensable to the students of ancient India, and will reveal the glory and greatness of our motherland.

I do not propose to take more of your time. Before I close, however, I have a few suggestions to make. The work of this Society is indeed magnificent, and its record of research glorious. But a very great deal still remains to be done. India will soon have its own new currency. But we do not yet know what will be the type of our new coins. Our present coins are extremely inartistic and prosaic, compared to our ancient coins. It is high time that the Government should pay serious attention to the problem of coin types and appoint a committee of experts to look into the question to recommend suitable types of coin devices for the coinage of Free India. It would be desirable for this Conference if it chalks out an organized plan of numismatic research on a large scale. Also, in my opinion, it is the duty of this Conference not only to organize research but also to disseminate information about it among the people. For this purpose, the publication of a journal in Hindi and other Indian languages is very essential. This undertaking would also help to make the subject of numismatics popular. I hope however, that the solid and concrete work of this organization would, before long, compel the attention of the Government and States, and enable it to realize its ambitious schemes. I hope that the subject of Numismatics will receive wider attention all over India. I have instructed the Bharatpur History and Archæological department to contribute Rs. 5,000/- in the first instance and an annual donation of Rs. 1,000/- to the Numismatic Society. I hope that it will be of some help to your cause.

It is with great pleasure that I declare this Conference open.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS¹

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B, D.LITT.
HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY
AND CULTURE, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

Your Highness Shri Brajendra Sawai Brajendra Singhji Bahadur, Dr. M. M. Pandurangasharma Kane, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Your continued kindness to and confidence in me has necessitated this year also a presidential address from me on the occasion of the 37th Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India. I shall be soon referring to the progress of the Society during the last year, but before I do so, I have to refer to the loss that the Society has suffered at the cruel hand of death, the leveller.

SIR RICHARD BURN

Sir Richard Burn was one of the few Civil Servants, who had devoted themselves heart and soul to the studies of numismatics. Numerous articles of his on different branches of numismatics had begun to appear in the Numismatic Supplements of the Asiatic Society of Bengal even before the inception of our Society. They embrace a very large sphere of Indian Numismatics, from the period of the Guptas to that of the coins of the Modern Indian States. His paper on the Mughal Mint Towns paved the way for subsequent research in that difficult subject. His reviews of Numismatic researches in the issues of Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology were masterly and illuminating. His interest in Numismatics continued down to his death; his paper on Coinage bearing the names of Indian Queens, which he had contributed to the Hodiwala Number of our Journal, was written when he was 75. He was a tower of strength to Society and was its President for the years 1916, 1917, and 1919.

DR. M. H. KRISHNA

Dr. M. H. Krishna, the Director of Archaeology of Mysore, passed away hardly a week ago. In him we have lost one of the ablest scholars of South Indian Numismatics. His contributions on this topic in the different volumes of the Mysore Archaeological Survey Reports will long remain indispensable to the learned world.

1. Delivered at the annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India in Bombay on 27-12-1947.

PUBLICATIONS

During the year under review, two numbers of the Journal were published, Vol. VIII, parts I and II. We are still in arrears, but not more so than the Journals of most of the other Societies. Kings Yugamagha Bhīmasena, Tijyavega, Prakāśaśiva Sebaka and Kauśikīputra Sātakarni were heralded for the first time in the historical world by our Journal during the last 12 months. Among other important discoveries of the period may be mentioned the Gadhia coins with Horseman reverse and the portrait coin of Khaliph Al Muqtadir of Baghdad.

PUBLICATIONS UNDER ACTIVE PREPARATION.

Let me now refer to our impending publications. There is a pressing need for a detailed and critical bibliography of Indian Numismatics. Articles on this subject have appeared in different journals during the last 125 years and it becomes difficult for a student to get himself properly posted in the particular branch in which he wants to specialise. Our able and enthusiastic Hon. Treasurer, Mr. Singhal, has come forward to meet this long felt want and has already completed Part I of the Bibliography, dealing with the ancient Indian period. The Bibliography that he had published 19 years ago has long become out of stock and out of date also. That bibliography however gave merely the names of the authors, the titles of their papers and the Journal numbers where they were published. The new bibliography that he has prepared not only gives this information, but also contains a brief, intelligent and critical summary of each paper. I had the pleasure to read the typescript of this work and have great pleasure to testify to the great skill and ability which Mr. Singhal has shown in doing this rather tedious but nonetheless very useful and necessary work. The bibliography will be soon sent to the press, and published as soon as the great presiding deities over press and paper condescend to help us in our cause.

Another member of our society, Mr. P. L. Gupta has nearly completed his corpus on Gupta coins. I had the pleasure to read the Ms. of this work also and feel that its publication will meet a long felt want.

STANDARD WORK OF REFERENCE ON
INDIAN NUMISMATICS

It was in 1944 that the Society decided to undertake a Standard Work of Reference on Indian Numismatics in three volumes, which would for all practical purposes dispense with

the necessity of referring to out-of-date catalogues and unprocurable journals, present a succinct consolidated account of the research work done and make its own contribution to it. Vol. I of this work was entrusted to me during my absence in the Annual Meeting held at Madras. For a time I was not inclined to address myself to this work, but when I discovered myself to be in the Presidential *gaddi* of the Society, I felt that the scheme had to be actively prosecuted, if the numismatic studies in the country were not to come to a standstill on account of want of reference works. I am glad to report to you that out of the 25 chapters of the work, 14 were ready last June. The work would have neared its completion by this time, had not Col. His Highness Sri Brajendra Singhji of Bharatpur, whom we have the pleasure to have in our midst today, had interfered with its progress by requesting me to undertake the classification and cataloguing of the unique Bayana hoard of 1821 gold Gupta coins. The Catalogue of this hoard will go to the press next July, leaving me free to prosecute the work connected with the First Volume of the Standard Work of Reference. I have every hope that this work will be ready for the press by April 1949.

The work is expected to extend over 900 pages of royal size and we intend to illustrate it by 200 plates, giving the important types and varieties of every king, guild and republic that flourished in India from prehistoric times to c. 1300 A. D. Its 200 plates will illustrate about 5,000 coins.

COST OF THE WORK

The plates will necessitate photographs of a number of coins, casts and photographs published in a number of books and journals. Photographing will have to be done separately in the case of a number of coins illustrated in rare journals and I am afraid that the bill for photographing alone will be not less than Rs. 6,000. This is of course a small amount, when we remember that 5,000 coins have to be included in the plates. The block making charges for two hundred plates of the Royal size will be about Rs. 10,000. Printing of 200 plates and 900 pages will cost not less than Rs. 10,000 and the honorarium to contributors will be about Rs. 9000. The whole scheme of the first volume will thus cost the Society about Rs. 35,000. This is but a small sum for a standard work of reference which would dispense with the necessity of referring to journals and catalogues.

FINANCES OF THE SOCIETY

This brings us to a consideration of the financial position of the Society. When I assumed the Editorship eight years

ago, I discovered that the income of the Society was not sufficient even to pay the printing charges of its Journal. We were gradually successful in inducing a number of provincial governments and states to sanction to us small recurring annual grants. Bombay, the U. P. and the Punjab were first to come to our assistance and Hyderabad followed in their wake soon. During the last 12 months, I am glad to report to you that the governments of Bihar, Orissa, Baroda, Madras and Jaipur have responded to our call. Just now H. H. the Maharajasaheb of Bharatpur has announced his princely donations. I regret to state that we have not yet concluded our negotiations with the Government of India. Our Imperial or Union Government spends thousands of rupees every year for publishing inscriptions, but not a single pice for publishing coins. By editing the Journal, the Society is really doing the work of the Archæological department, which should have started a *Numismatica Indica* as a companion Journal for its *Epigraphia Indica* long long ago. Ours is the only Journal for Numismatics in the country, and I have every hope that the Government of India will recognise the force of our arguments and sanction to us a substantial recurring grant for the usual activities of the Society.

FINANCING OF THE STANDARD WORK OF REFERENCE

We have been carefully husbanding our resources since we began to get some recurring grants with a view to promote new scheme of publications. We have now constituted a Special Publications Fund consisting of our savings of Rs. 10,000, which will constitute the nucleus of the amount necessary for our First Volume, which will cost us not less than Rs. 35,000. I am sure that the Union, Provincial and States Governments and public institutions and generous donors will vie with one another by giving us the needed funds, as our work approaches its completion by April 1949. We have already received some small grants. The U. P. Government has sanctioned us a grant of Rs. 1,500 and Sir Ratan Tata Trust of Bombay a grant of 1,000. The non-recurring grant of Rs. 5000 just now announced by the Maharajasaheb of Bharatpur, will also be earmarked for this work. We hope that the noble example of His Highness will be emulated by other governments and institutions. There are a number of schemes of publications in the learned world, which are not taking a concrete shape with the expected rapidity. I was wondering whether I should announce our scheme at this stage. But we are confident that our work will reach its completion according to the plan; its announcement had become overdue since more than half of it was ready for the press.

THE DISCOVERIES OF THE YEAR : BAYANA HOARD

Let me now refer to the important numismatic discoveries of the last twelve months. The most important among them is that of the Bayana hoard of 1821 gold Gupta coins¹ in Bharatpur state, a brief account of which was given in the last presidential address. The hoard was however much more important and sensational than what I had thought it to be from the reports I had heard about it last December. The coins actually recovered from the hoard are 1821, a number probably greater than the number of all the Gupta coins existing in the different cabinets of the museums and private collectors in all the countries of the world put together. When the Society drew the attention of the Maharajasaheb of Bharatpur to the unique nature of this discovery, he immediately decided to take all possible steps to get the hoard published in a manner that would redound to the credit and prestige of his government and bring glory to Indian scholarship. He was kind enough to invite me twice to his capital to classify the coins and to take notes about them for the preparation of their catalogue. A large number of assistants were placed at my disposal to cleanse, measure and weigh the coins, to make their moulds, to take their photographs, to draw their symbols and to record their legends. Prof. K. C. Sharma, the State Superintendent of Archæology, was of immense help in organising the entire work; but for his assistance, the work could not have made the rapid progress made so far. I have selected 450 coins for illustration in the catalogue, a number twice larger than that of the gold coins illustrated in the British Museum Catalogue. The Director General of Archæology was good enough to place the services of his department at our disposal for photographing these coins. The catalogue is now nearly half complete and we hope to send it to the press before the end of July 1948.

WHEN WAS THE BAYANA HOARD BURIED ?

Kramāditya (Skandagupta) represented by a single coin, is the last Gupta ruler of the hoard and it is therefore clear that the hoard was buried in c. 455 A. D. when the Gupta empire was shaken to its foundation by the Hūna invasion. This great catastrophe made life and property unsafe at Bayana, and the unknown owner of this treasure, then worth about Rs. twelve lakhs, buried it in a field and fled away as a refugee somewhere to Madhyadeśa. It appears that he was killed or

1. 12 of these coins were in the British Museum and 12 in Mysore at the time when I examined the hoard in October 1947. They could not be included in the classification and enumeration of the different types given in the present address.

could not return to Bayana, and his treasure lay hidden and undisturbed till the chance digging of village urchins led to its discovery on 23rd of February 1948.

ABSENCE OF PRE-GUPTA COINS

The hoard consists of Gupta gold coins only. We have only nine coins of the first Gupta emperor Chandragupta I, and this is natural, for the hoard was buried about 125 years after his death. It is noteworthy that the hoard does not contain a single gold coin of the later Kushāṇas, which were current in the Bayana area before the advent of the Guptas. The gold coins of the later Kushāṇas are heavily adulterated, and it appears that people therefore did not prefer to keep them in their hoards.

COINS OF CHANDRAGUPTA I, AND SAMUDRAGUPTA

The number of the coins of Chandragupta, 9, is small only when compared to the coins of the other kings represented in this hoard. It may be however pointed out that the number of coins of this ruler in the British Museum is also only 9, that in the Indian Museum is only 6 and that in the Lucknow Museum is 4. The coins of this ruler in the present hoard present no striking peculiarities.

The next ruler Samudragupta is represented by as many as 180 coins. There are 47 coins of this ruler in the British Museum, 29 in the Indian Museum and 38 in the Lucknow Museum. Our impression that the Standard type is the most popular type of this ruler is confirmed by this hoard, for out of his 180 coins, 143 are of the Standard type. The British Museum has 17, the Indian Museum 19 and the Lucknow Museum 26 coins of this type. Coins with Samudra under the arm 136, while those with Samudragupta are only 7. This would tend to show that the real personal name of the emperor was Samudra; *gupta* was added as an appendix or surname.

The Bayana hoard has led to the discovery of a new variety of the Standard type quite dissimilar in fabric from those known so far. Coins of this fabric are small in size, neat in execution and usually give most of the medial vowels in the legend.

It may be added that on not a single coin of any type of the coins of Samudragupta do we find in this hoard the legend Vikrama. As may be known to some of you, a coin of Samudragupta of the Standard type with the *biruda* Vikrama was discovered in the Bamnala hoard recently. It seems very probable that this is due to the mistake of the mint-master in

using the obverse die of the preceding reign along with a reverse die of that of Chandragupta II, the new king.

The Bayana Hoard contains only eight coins of the Battle-axe type of Samudragupta; there are 9 coins of this type in the British Museum, one in the Indian Museum and 3 in the Lucknow Museum. Most of these coins are worn out and they present no new varieties.

Tiger-slayer type is the rarest one of Samudragupta; there are only two coins in the British and Lucknow Museums, and none in the Indian Museum. Our new hoard also contains only two coins, but they are much more beautiful and better preserved than those of the British or Lucknow Museum. The muscular body of the king, his determined attitude, and the ferocious appearance of the animal are all very successfully portrayed.

There are three coins of the Archer type in the Bayana hoard; the Indian and the British Museum have four coins each of this type and the Lucknow Museum has only 1. The word *Avaniśo* can now be clearly assumed to figure in one of the legends, because we can see its clear traces on one of the coins of this hoard.

The hoard contains two coins of the Lyrist type of the larger variety and four of the smaller variety. The British Museum and the Indian Museum have five and two, and two and one coin respectively of these varieties. The Lucknow Museum has only one coin of this type of the larger variety. The Bamnala hoard, which may be presumed to consist of the coins issued from a Malwa mint, contains the coins of the small variety only of this type. In our hoard, the number of coins of the smaller variety is twice that of the larger. The evidence of the Bamnala and the Bayana hoards thus tends to show that the coins of the larger variety were issued at the capital, as is suggested by the eastern variety of the letter *ha* to be seen on them. They were not much current in outlying provinces. The coins of the smaller type were apparently the issues of provincial mints manned by inferior artists. Hence they are seen to be preponderating in the Bamnala and the Bayana hoards, both collected by millionaires living in outlying provinces.

The Bayana hoard contains a beautiful collection of 20 Aśvamedha coins. There are only seven coins of his type in the British Museum, two in the Indian Museum and five in the Lucknow Museum. The legend contains the ungrammatical form *vijitvā*, which can be distinctly seen on a number of the coins. The legend had been originally read as *Rājādhirājah prithivīm vijitvā divam jayatyaprativāryaviryah*

by Mr. Allan. Later on a new coin purchased by the Lucknow Museum showed faint traces of the letters *va*, *ja* and *ma* at the end, and so the legend was restored by Dr. Venis as *divanī jayatyārhrītavājīmedhah*, in the light of the epigraphical description of Samudragupta as *chirotsannāśvamedhāhartuh*. The conjectural emendation is now confirmed by four of our coins, where the word *vājīmedha* is crystal clear. On some of our coins the legend begins at the hind foot of the horse; this is a new variation. None of the horses is caparisoned as is the case with the horse on some of the coins of Kumāragupta I. We may now presume that Samudragupta did not prefer to show the caparisoned horse on his Aśvamedha coins. Otherwise at least some coins of that variety would have been found in this hoard.

NO RĀMAGUPTA COINS IN THE HOARD

The present speaker, who is responsible for unearthing the existence of the now famous king Rāmāgupta, the elder brother of Chandragupta II, has to admit that the Bayana hoard contains not a single coin of that ruler. This circumstance seems to go against the historicity of Rāmāgupta. A hoard which contains the coins of all the Gupta kings from Chandragupta I to Skandagupta in so large numbers should have got at least some coins of Rāmāgupta, if he was really a historical king. It is possible to argue even now that since about 200 to 300 coins of the present hoard were melted down before it was recovered, it is not impossible that all the coins of Rāmāgupta, which by the way could not have been many as he had a short reign, may have been included in the lot melted down. This is quite possible but not very likely. I think that the hoard tends to show that there was no such king as Rāmāgupta known in contemporary times, as the elder brother of Chandragupta II. My faith in the historicity of the plot of the *Devichandraguptam* is, however, not shaken by the absence of the coins of Rāmāgupta in the present hoard. I am now inclined to hold that Kāchagupta of the coins is identical with Rāmāgupta of the literary tradition. How Kācha can be changed into Rāma by careless scribes has already been pointed out by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. I hope to discuss the various arguments for identifying Kāchagupta with Rāmāgupta in a paper to be read this afternoon. [This paper will be printed later in this Journal.]

Kāchagupta, whom I take to be the eldest son of Samudragupta, and the elder brother of Chandragupta II, is represented in the hoard by 16 coins as against 7 in the British Museum, 3 in the Indian Museum and four in the Lucknow Museum. 15 of these are of the usual type, but the 16th

reveals a new variety where the symbol on the reverse is at the top and not in the centre and the goddess is holding *pāśa* instead of the foreign cornucopiae. The king also is seen wearing a *dhoti* on this variety instead of the usual trousers. This new variety shows that Kācha did not confine himself only to one type in his short reign and had authorised at least a second type, where a conscious effort was made at Indianisation both on the obverse and reverse.

COINS OF CHANDRAGUPTA II : ARCHER TYPE.

Chandragupta II is represented by 972 coins in the hoard. His coins are thus more than the coins of all his successors and predecessors put together, which are only 849. This circumstance would suggest that the Gupta empire was at the zenith of its prosperity during the reign of this emperor. Out of 972 coins, as many as 753 are of the Archer type,¹ which must thus be taken to be the most popular type of this emperor. Samudragupta had hardly issued more than a dozen coins of this type.

Coins of the Archer type were thus no doubt issued as mass product, but it should not be supposed that there was a dead uniformity in them. The creative vein was most characteristic of the Gupta art and it was ever attempting to invent new and interesting variations within the framework of the main type. Out of 753 coins of the Archer type, 40 have the throned goddess on the reverse and the remaining 713 have the Lakshmī seated on lotus. It is obvious that Lakshmī seated on throne with the Roman cornucopiae in her hand was soon discarded. Cornucopiae was first replaced by the lotus, and soon the Kushāṇa throne motif gave place to the lotus, which is the time-honoured seat of the Goddess of Fortune and Prosperity. One cannot sufficiently admire the ingenuity of the Gupta mint masters in introducing pleasing variety in the main type. The name of the king Chandra is written sometimes under his left arm, sometimes between the bow and the bowstring and sometimes outside the string. Sometimes the bow is with string inside and sometimes with string outside. In some cases it is held at the top and in some by the middle at the back. On some coins the bow is held in the right hand and the arrow in the left; on others the position is reversed. Now the *Garudadhvaja* is on the right and then on the left. In several cases the king's head is adorned with different varieties of beautiful crowns; but very often he is bare headed with curly hair falling down like a wig on the neck.

1. British Museum has 39, the Indian Museum and the Lucknow Museum have each 28 coins of this type.

The Archer type of the Bayana hoard contains a new variety where the king is seen holding a Kaśā (hunter) by his side. The latter consists of a small wooden handle and a leather thong tied to it by a knot. Among other new varieties of this type may be mentioned one coin where the reverse legend Vikrama is replaced by Chandragupta and another where the name Chandra does not occur even on the obverse.

OTHER TYPES OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

The search for variety is to be seen also in the Horseman and the Chhatra types of this ruler. In the former type, the king is sometimes without any weapons; sometimes he has a sword, sometimes a bow, now held in the right and then in the left hand. In the Chhatra type, variety was difficult on the obverse. So it is attempted on the reverse, where the goddess is sometimes standing on a low stool, sometimes on a mat; sometimes she is merely standing, sometimes walking and on one coin she is seen double marching also. The coins of the Chhatra type are 74; the British and the Indian Museums have six each and the Lucknow Museum has only one.

The Bayana hoard contains 82 coins of the Horseman type as against 12 of the British Museum, 5 of the Indian Museum and 11 of the Lucknow Museum.

The Bayana hoard contains three coins of the *Paryāṅka* (couch) type of Chandragupta II. There are only two coins of this type in the British Museum, 1 in the Indian Museum and 1 in the Lucknow Museum. The mystery of the legend *Rūpākṛitī* occurring on the unique coin in the Indian Museum continues unsolved. Our hoard contains no coin with this legend or any of its variations.

The Bayana hoard contains 39 coins of the Lion Slayer type as against 13 of the British Museum, 10 of the Indian Museum and 12 of the Lucknow Museum. Coins of this type are undoubtedly among the best artistic gems of the Gupta art. It is impossible to describe their beauty in words; it can be realised only by personal and direct inspection. Among the Lion-slayer coins, 19 show the Lion-combatant type, 19 the Lion-trampler type and only one the Lion-re-treating type. It is clear that the Gupta mint-masters did not like to show the lion escaping from the deadly combat with their emperor. We have very few coins of this variety found so far.

CHAKRAVIKRAMA TYPE.

Chakravikrama type is the most priceless and unique gem of this hoard, there being only one coin of the type. *Chandra-*

gupta was a staunch devotee of Vishṇu, and this type gives a concrete shape to the beautiful conception of the deity, manifesting himself before the emperor, holding mace in one hand and offering some *prasāda* to him which he is accepting with the right hand. Vishṇu is distinguished from the king by giving him a double and ornamental halo, the king having only a single and simple one. The attribution of this coin to Chandragupta II depends on its reverse legend *Chakravikrama*, the last word of which unmistakably points to that ruler, since it was his peculiar and special epithet. *Paramabhāgavata* was a special title first taken by Chandragupta II; the Mehrauli pillar inscription shows how he had erected a *Vishṇudhvaja* on the Vishṇupada hill in the Eastern Punjab. The public of that age probably attributed the sensational victories of their emperor over the Saka rulers of Western India and the North Western Punjab to the special boon received from Vishṇu, and the mint-masters decided to give a concrete expression to this idea by representing Vishṇu as manifesting himself before the emperor in his corporeal form in order to confer the boon of invincibility on him.

COINS OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I.

The hoard contains only 612 coins of Kumāragupta I as against 973 of his father. Though relatively smaller in number, they show greater variety in types. His coin types are now seen to be fourteen in number and they are nearly equal to the coin types of all his predecessors put together. The Archer type was fairly popular with Kumāragupta I; the hoard contains 183 coins of this type as against 11 in the British Museum, 16 in the Indian Museum and 4 in the Lucknow Museum. The hoard enables us to complete one legend as *Jayati Mahītalām Kumāraguptaḥ sudhanvī*, but the other legend beginning with *Guṇesha* still remains uncompleted.

It is curious to note that there are hardly any metrical legends on the coins of Chandragupta Vikramāditya, who is traditionally known to be a great lover of poetry, if not himself a great poet. The coins of Kumāragupta however supply us a number of beautiful metrical lines. We get several of them on his Horseman type, which is represented by 302 coins in this hoard, as against 15 in the British Museum and 13 in the Indian Museum. So far we knew only two complete legends, *Guptakulāmalachandro Mahendrakarmājito jayati* and *Guptakulavyomaśaśī jayatyajeyojitamahendrah*. Both these legends compare the greatness of the king with that of Indra, king of gods, and describe him as the moon in the firmament of the Gupta royal family. The hoard enables us to complete the third incomplete legend as *Prithvītalambaraśaśī Kumāragupto*

jayatyajitah; the poet here imagines the surface of the earth to be another sky in which the emperor shines as the pleasant moon, but none the less invincible to the enemies. A fourth legend describes the king as Indra among the kings of the earth, *Prithvītalesvarendrah Kumāragupto jayatyajitah*. On a solitary coin we find a new legend *Jayati nriporibhirajitah*.

The hoard contains 50 coins of the Lion-Slayer type, as against 12 in the British Museum, 2 in the Indian Museum, and 1 in the Lucknow Museum. The mystery of the incomplete legend beginning with *sākshādiva* continues unsolved; we have got several coins of that type in the hoard, but they are all completely blurred. A new legend has come to light ending with *narendro divaṃ jayati*, which may be completed as *Kṣhītipatirajito vijayī sinhanarendro divaṃ jayati*, 'The victorious invincible ruler, a lion among kings, wins heaven as well.' The hoard discloses a new legend, beginning with *Guneśa* but it cannot be completed as most of the coins are very much blurred.

The Tiger-slayer type is represented in the hoard by 36 coins as against 15 in the British Museum, 9 in the Indian Museum and 1 in the Lucknow Museum. They are artistically extremely beautiful, but present no new varieties.

RARE TYPES OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

It may be presumed that since Kumāragupta I was named after Kumāra, the generalissimo of the gods, the Kumāra type showing the divine commander-in-chief riding his mount peacock, should have been extremely popular in the reign. The hoard however contains only 13 coins of this type as against 9 in the British Museum, 5 in the Indian Museum and 2 in the Lucknow Museum. The paucity of this type is really difficult to understand.

Only two coins of the *Aśvamedha* type of this emperor were known so far, and they are in the British Museum across the four seas. On these coins the horse is caparisoned and the obverse legend quite incomplete; they were being attributed to Kumāragupta on account of the reverse legend *Aśvamedha-mahendrah*. Our hoard now shows that Kumāragupta I had issued some coins of the *aśvamedha* type with uncaparisoned horse as well, as had been done by his illustrious grand-father Samudragupta. Further they clearly give the name of the issuer on the obverse as Kumāragupta and the legend can be completed as *Devo jitaśatruḥ Kumāraguptodhīrājā*.

The Swordman type of this ruler was so far known by two specimens in the British and one each in the Indian and

the Lucknow Museums. The present hoard contains as many as ten coins of this type.

The Elephant rider type was so far represented by a single coin in the Indian Museum. The name of the king was illegible and the coins were conjecturally attributed to Kumāragupta I on account of their weight and style. Three coins of this type in the present hoard are much better preserved than the one known so far; they enable us not only to definitely attribute this type to Kumāragupta I, but also to read the legend completely; it is found to be a metrical line, *Kshataripu Kumāragupto rājā trātā jayatyaniṣam*. The reverse inscription could not be read so far; we now find it to be *Śrīmahendra-gajaḥ*, the elephant of Kumāragupta, alias Mahendra. The emperor is obviously seeking to immortalise on his coins his favourite elephant.

The Elephant-rider Lion-slayer type was so far known from a single specimen which was once offered for sale to the Lucknow Museum, but which now remains untraced; only a cast of it could be published by Dr. Hiranand Sastri. The Bayana hoard contains three beautiful specimens of this type, the reverse of which describes the emperor's favourite elephant as *Simhanihantā Mahendragajaḥ*, the Elephant of the emperor Mahendra, which is the destroyer of the lion. The obverse shows the emperor riding his favourite elephant, marching furiously to right, and about to trample under its fore foot the lion, which however is seen cleverly anticipating this move by trying to bite the hind leg by its jaw, which is widely opened out for the purpose. The emperor is also attacking the lion by his sword, while the attendant behind is holding the imperial umbrella over him. Great indeed is the artistic skill shown in portraying the fury of the mighty elephant, the cleverness of the supple lion and the determination of the agile emperor. The legend has not been preserved well; but it seems to have been the same as that on the Elephant-rider type, but ends with *jayati ripūn*.

NOT PRATĀPA BUT APRATIGHA TYPE

The hoard contains as many as eight coins of the so-called Pratāpa type of Kumāragupta I, but the mystery surrounding this type is only partially solved by them. Mr. Allan thought that the legend on the reverse was Śrīpratāpa and so called the coin as of the Pratāpa type. The coins of the present hoard show that Mr. Allan's reading is no longer tenable; the reverse legend can be either *Apratigha* or *Apranīya*. The latter is an ungrammatical form for the classical Sanskrit, though it can be a regular one in the Vedic idiom. I prefer to read the

legend as *Apratigha*. *Pratigha* means anger or hindrance; the expression *sarvatrāpratighaḥ* is common in the *Mahābhārata* and describes the power of a Chakravartin as invincible everywhere. *Apratighaḥ*, as the description of the emperor Kumāragupta, may be compared to the epithet *Apratirathaḥ* by which his grandfather is described on his Archer type. It is also possible that we can take the word *pratigha* in the sense of anger; *apratigha* then may mean one who does not lose his temper.

If the motif on the obverse of this type becomes clear, we can choose between these two possible interpretations. On the obverse side we see the male figure, apparently of a monk, standing unperturbed, with hands folded on his chest and two persons, one certainly a female and the other probably a male, arguing with him with violent gesticulations. The monk figure in the centre is expressly described as Kumāragupta; are we to suppose that this Gupta emperor became a Buddhist monk towards the end of his life and no argumentations could perturb his conviction? Or are both the side figures females, and do we have here a representation of the temptation of the Buddha by the daughters of Māra? The figure on the left, however, appears to be holding *Garuḍadhvaṇa* in its hand; it may be that of an attendant, holding a shield on his chest, which otherwise looks like the female breasts. No confident interpretation can be suggested till we read the long obverse legend. It has so far defied my efforts. I have brought with me enlarged photographs of this legend, and I invite fellow numismatists and epigraphists to try their hands at its decipherment.

NEW TYPES OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

The Chhatra, the Lyrist, the King and the Queen and the Rhinoceros slayer types of Kumāragupta discovered in this hoard are absolutely unique. The Chhatra type was common in the preceding reign, and it is but natural that Kumāragupta should have continued it during his own. There are however only two specimens of this type in the hoard. The Lyrist type, showing the emperor playing on the lute and perhaps whiling away his time in the long and weary summer evenings of Pāṭalīputra, seated on the terrace of his palace with bare upper body, is an imitation of this type originally introduced by his grandfather, who claimed to be a musician of rare attainments. Perhaps Kumāragupta I also had cultivated music as his hobby, and is therefore shown playing on the lute on his coins. The hoard contains only two coins of this type.

In the King and the Queen type, we find the king offering a bunch of flowers to the queen standing before him. This type is a copy of the well known type of Chandragupta I, where the name of the king and the queen are both given by their side. Here also there are traces of inscriptions on the obverse, which must have given the names of Their Majesties. It is very much to be regretted that they should have been completely blurred. The name of the Crowned Queen of Kumāragupta is still unknown to us and the later Gupta history would be much better understood, could we but know it. The hoard contains only one coin of this type and it is blurred.

The Rhinoceros-slayer type, represented by four very beautiful specimens in the hoard, is again unique. So far we had Lion-slayer and Tiger-slayer types; now we have by their side the Rhinoceros-slayer type. Rhinoceros is now extinct in India, but this type shows that it was not unknown in the Gangetic plain in the 4th and the 5th centuries A. D. In this type we see the king riding a caparisoned horse, wearing a buttoned coat and trousers, and leaning forward to attack the rhinoceros by the sword. Suddenly confronted by the rhinoceros, the horse raises its head slightly frightened. The rhinoceros bravely stands at bay, turning back its head to attack the king. The animal is beautifully engraved, its single horn on the head, left eye, two ears, circular spots on the body being all very artistically reproduced. It is but natural that the legend on this beautiful artistic type should not be in prose. It is not only metrical but highly poetical also. The king is attacking the rhinoceros by the sword or *khaḍga*, which Sanskrit word also means a rhinoceros. The unknown poetic author of the legend could not help making a pun on the word *khaḍga* and describes the emperor as *Bhartā Khaḍga-trātā Kumāragupto jayatanīsam*, 'ever victorious is the lord Kumāragupta who is *khaḍga-trātā*, i. e. a protector by the sword (*khaḍgena trātā*) from the rhinoceros (*khaḍgebhyas-trātā*)

IDENTITY OF KRAMĀDITYA

Kramāditya is the last ruler represented in the hoard; we have a single coin of his of the Chhatra type. Unfortunately the obverse legend on the coin is not full and does not disclose the personal name of the issuer; we can read only *Vijitāvanira*. Kramāditya was an epithet of Skandagupta, the successor of Kumāragupta, but Ghaṭotkacha, a brother of Skandagupta, who was ruling as the governor of Malwa during his father's reign, very probably had also taken this epithet, if the attribution of a unique coin of the Archer type bearing the name Ghaṭo to that prince is correct. If we attribute the solitary coin of Kramāditya of our hoard to Ghaṭotkachagupta of

Malwa, it would show that during the turmoil that followed the death of Kumāragupta and the Hūṇa invasion, Ghaṭōt-kachagupta assumed independence in Malwa and began to issue coins in his own name. It is however more probable that the coin was issued by Skandagupta Kramāditya, whose silver coins have the legend beginning with *Vijitāvaniravanipatiḥ*. If this alternative is correct, and if the hoard contained really one coin of this ruler, we shall have to suppose that the Hūṇa invasion took place early in the reign of Kumāragupta, when he had just started issuing coins. If however we assume that among about 300 coins that were melted down, the majority was those of Kramāditya Skandagupta, then the inference will be that the Hūṇas penetrated to Bharatpur towards the end of Skandagupta's reign in a second attempt in that direction. The problem can be solved only by the discovery of further evidence.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am conscious that I have detained you rather long in describing the unique features of the Bayana hoard, but it is probably the discovery of the century and I am not sure that the curiosity of the experts amongst you is fully satisfied by my short remarks. The latter can get their full satisfaction in our evening session, when, thanks to the courtesy and the kindness of the Maharajasaheb of Bharatpur, we shall be able to show you all the representative coins of this hoard. Enlarged photographs of the *Apratigha* type will also be shown and my epigraphist friends can try their hand in unravelling the legend. A paper on the rare and new types of the hoard will be published in the *Journal* in due course.

NEW PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

Let me now draw your attention to other discoveries made in the year. Punch-marked coins continue to be found in large numbers. I have recently purchased a hoard of 316 punch-marked coins found in the North Western Province; it mostly consists of the types prevalent during the Mauryan rule. Dr. V. S. Agrawala of the Central Asian Museum reports the discovery of another hoard from the same province found in the village Darora in Dir State. The hoard consists of 585 coins, of which 60 belong to the intermediate period and the rest to the later or the Mauryan age. They have all five symbols and weigh 32 *ratīs*. 17 coins have three human figures as three of their five symbols, and on one coin we find three human figures counterstruck as the reverse mark. On one coin serpent figures as one of the symbols, which is rather rare.

Mr. K. P. Rode reports the aquisition of a punch-marked coin by the Nagpur Museum having owl as one of its symbols. So far this bird was not known to be figuring on the punch marked coins.

A student of mine could recover four coins from a hoard of silver punch-marked coins found in Ghazipur district; they belong to that rare and very thin variety, to which I drew your attention in my last presidential address, and which was published in the last number of the Journal. Dr. Agrawala reports the purchase of two more of the cup-shaped variety of the Kosala punch-marked coins.

INDO-GREEK AND INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS.

In the realm of the Indo-Greek numismatics, I have to report the aquisition by Dewan Bahadur R. K. Jalan of Patna of a rare didrachm of Nikias, which is the fourth of its type to be recovered so far. Mr. Kahla reports the aquisition of a Scythian imitation coin of Heliokles at Taxila. So far these barbarous imitations of the Greek coins were known to be current outside India in Bactria and Afghanistan; this coin shows that some of them were current in India also.

Uptil now only one coin of Maues with the device Bow in Bowcase was known; I have recently purchased a second specimen of this variety from Rawalpindi. The coin is very important, because it clearly shows that early in his career this Scythian ruler was a feudatory of Mithradates the Great and did not dare to assume the imperial title, King of Kings, Basileos Basileon, which he did only after the death of his suzerain.

GUPTA AND POST-GUPTA COINS.

Bhāratakalābhavan of Benares has aquired a unique coin of Chandragupta II of the Standard type.¹ So far it was believed that only Samudragupta had issued coins of this type. The type was extremely popular with Samudragupta, and it was difficult to imagine that Chandragupta II had issued no coins in it. The present coin shows that Chandragupta II also issued coins of this type; but they seem to have been rather rare. The Bayana hoard for instance contains no coins of Chandragupta of this type.

Mr. K. P. Rode reports the aquisition of a coin of King Jagadeva of the Paramāra Dynasty. So far the coins of this dynasty were not known at all; the discovery of this coin leads us to entertain the hope that we may one day find the

1. A paper on this coin appears later in this number.

coins of the famous rulers of this dynasty like Bhoja and Sindhurāja.

Mr. P. D. Krishnamurti reports the discovery of a new type of coin of the Chola ruler Rājarāja. Its peculiarity lies in the obverse having a standing human figure facing the seated king.

MEDIEVAL COINS.

Major Tarapore, our enthusiastic member from Hyderabad Deccan, reports the discovery of a unique gold Tankah of Sultan Ruknuddin Ibrahim of Delhi. So far only copper issues of this ruler were known; the present coin would show that during his short and troubled reign, he took care to issue some gold coins as well. His paper on this coin appears later in this number.

The above survey of the year will show that numismatics is still full of important potentialities; it is quite possible for the twentieth century to be rewarded with discoveries, that would have thrilled even the numismatic giants of the nineteenth century like Wilson, Princep and Cunningham. What is necessary is an intelligent and continuous search for old coins at promising places. We have to make even the ordinary man in the street numismatically minded; if we succeed in doing so, hundreds of coins that go to the melting pot every year to the great loss of history, would be saved from their doom.

ARCHAEOLOGY AS A CONCURRENT SUBJECT

It is desirable that provincial governments also should have their own archaeological departments; I am glad to report to you that the U. P. Government is about to organise one of its own. It is impossible for the Union Government's Archaeological Department to do full justice to many and complicated problems of Indian Archaeology. Local interest can be intensified only by the creation of provincial archaeological departments. Curiously enough so far there has been a strange antipathy between the archaeological department and numismatics. I trust that the Provincial archaeological departments will engage the services of at least two numismatists to further the cause of studies in Numismatics.

DESIGNS FOR THE NEW COINAGE

We are now entering the stage of full freedom and it would be desirable if our Union Government bestows some thought on coin types and devices suitable to Indian heritages and tradition. I have great pleasure in supporting the sugges-

tion of His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur that the Government should appoint a committee to examine the problem and suggest artistic and national devices suggestive of India's achievements in the past.

NUMISMATIC BOOKS IN INDIAN LANGUAGES

Education will soon be imparted in the mother tongue in all the universities of India. Our great Indian languages have to rise equal to the occasion and produce a literature that can come up to the University and research standards. It has to be regretfully admitted that there is hardly any literature on Numismatics worth the name in most of the Indian vernaculars. The Society will be glad to place its services at the disposal of the different governments if they desire to get authoritative books written on Numismatics in its different branches. The subject being technical, books can be written only with the help of substantial state subsidies. The Society will be glad to publish versions in Indian Languages of its forthcoming books on Bibliography of Indian Numismatics. Standard Work of Reference on Indian Numismatics in any provincial language, whose government will be willing to bear the cost. As no further expenditure will be necessary for photographing and blockmaking, the Indian languages versions will not cost much.

THE TITLE 'DEVAPUTRA' ON KUYULA KARA KADPHISES' COINS.

BY J. N. BANERJEA, M. A., PH. D.,

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The title 'Devaputra' is often found as an attributive epithet of the Kanishka group of kings in their Brāhmī and Kharoshthi inscriptions. It does not occur, however, in any of their coin-legends, for the obvious reason that almost all of these are written in Greek script, and most in a language which is neither Greek nor Prākṛit. Do we then find its use in any other series of Kushāna coins? Cunningham thought that he could read it on only two of the copper coins which bore the name of Kuyula Kara Kaphsa. These are of the usual 'Bull and Bactrian camel' type series attributed to Kuyula Kara Kadphises, where the obverse Greek legend is corrupt and illegible, the Prākṛit legend written in Kharoshthi on the other side being, though fragmentary, partially legible. From a study of several such coins, the legend on the reverse may be deciphered as *Maharajasa rajadirajasa* (or *Maharaja rajadirajasa*) *K (u)y(u) la Kara Kapasa* (or *Kaphsasa*), as has been done by Whitehead. Cunningham suggested different readings in the case of 20 coins of this series, which he described in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. III, Vol. XII (1892, pp. 66-7, pl. iv, figs. 9-12), the variants being *Maharayasa rayarayasa devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kaphsasa* (2 specimens), *Kuyula Kara Kapasa maharayasa rayarayasa* or *Maharajasa mahatasa Kushana Kuyula Kaphsasa* (5 specimens), and *Maharajasa rajatirajasa Kuyula Kaphasa* (10 specimens). The four representative coins, which are reproduced by him to illustrate the various readings are, however, very poorly preserved, and not one single coin among them helps us to test any one of the above legends. Coins similar to the above in all respects are in the collections of many of the Museums in India and outside, and Gardner, Whitehead and Smith have all described them in their respective coin-catalogues. Gardner places them in his *Catalogue* (p. 112, pl. XXIII) in between the coins of Zeionises and Sanabares in the Indo-Parthian section, and remarks that 'the British Museum specimens are not sufficiently well-preserved to enable us to give any certain readings'; he, however, reads many stray Kharoshthi letters, and on two coins, part of the legends as *Maharajasa* or *Maharayasa rayatirayasa*.¹

1. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, p. 112; Gardner refers to Cunningham's earlier attempts to decipher these legends in *J. A. S. B.*, 1854, pp. 695, 698, and to Von Sallet's views in *Zeitschrift f. Num.*, 1879, 369-70.

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Smith diffidently suggests readings such as *Kushana Kuyula Kara Kaphsa*, *Maharayasa rayatirayasa*, *Kara maharayasa mahatasa*, none of which is complete, referring to the four variants of Cunningham. The partially preserved legends read by Whitehead have already been noticed. I studied the Punjab and Indian Museum coins of this group, and could not improve upon the suggestions of Whitehead and Smith.

It is thus apparent from the above facts that though the name of the king and a few of his principal epithets can be read on one or other of the different groups of coins of this series, it is on two specimens only that Cunningham could read '*Devaputra*'; but the word cannot be read from the one reproduced by him. His reading of the title in question on the above two coins is apparently wrong, and it is clear that it was never used as an attributive epithet of the king on any of these coins, or on any other series of the Kushāna coins. This is also the finding of Mr. Allan 'who has re-examined the coins on which Cunningham had read the title', and who has authorised F. W. Thomas to assert that it never appears on any of the coins of the Kushānas, its reading on a coin of Kujula Kara Kaphsa being an error.'¹ The title has all along been equated with the one, 'Son of Heaven', used by the Chinese emperors. But Thomas has recently suggested that it is thoroughly Indian in character, and it was current only as a complimentary epithet 'among the Indian subjects of the Kushānas and therefore with its Indian meaning' (*B. C. Law Volume*, Pt. II, p. 308). The Indian Devaputras were a class of beings belonging to the Deva world, but not sufficiently distinct or limited in number to be included in the closed list of 'Thirtythree'. The Pāli Jātaka commentary (III, p. 261, l. 12) sometimes identifies the terms 'Deva' and 'Devaputra' (*devo cha nāma devaputto*). The divine character is thus emphasised by the use of the latter term, and its association with the Kushāna kings could not have preceded the period of Wemia Kadphises. It was this monarch who undoubtedly introduced the characteristic signs of divinity in the delineation of the royal portrait, which were afterwards copied by his successors on their money. The 'royal bust rising from the clouds', 'flames issuing from the king's shoulders', 'his august head shown inside a frame', all these divine and honorific traits are found on his coins for the first time. Drouin observes, 'On the beautiful gold pieces of Hvima Kadpisa or Kadphises II the shoulders of the king are surrounded by luminous rays or flames, and his bust appears to issue from the clouds, like the

1. *B. C. Law Volume*, Pt. II, p. 307. Cunningham's error in his reading of the legend had been evident to me long before I read Thomas' learned article on '*Devaputra*'.

gods of Greece, who envelope themselves with clouds to descend upon the earth. All these are the characteristics of deification or of apotheosis¹. The word *iśvara* in the compound *śarvalogaiśvara*, a part of the legend *Maharajasa rajadirajasa śarvalogaiśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima Kathphiśasa tradara* appearing on most of his coins, probably has a pun in it, for it seems that he tries to describe himself as the lord of all his people (or all the worlds) not only in the temporal sense of the term but also in its spiritual sense. Thus, '*Devaputra*' could very well have been used with the name of this early Kushāna emperor for the first time, and not with that of any other monarch of this race, who preceded him.² It is presumable, however, that neither he nor any other Kushāna king did use it on his coins, the reason probably being, as has been suggested by Thomas, that it was never, at any rate in early times, adopted by the Kushānas as an official title. Jayaswal seems to be right in identifying Vama Takshama of the pedestal inscription of one of the Mat statues with Wema Kadphises; the inscription records the construction of a temple (*devakula*), a garden (*ārāma*), a tank (*pushkarinī*) and a well (*udāpāna*) in honour of Mahārāja rājadirāja devaputra Kushānaputra Shāhi Vama takshama.³ The correctness of Jayaswal's suggestion seems to be borne out by the fact that Vakanapati Huma..... (Huma....., the chief of Vakana - ? modern Wakhan), who was probably the donor of the record, described the Shāhi Vamatakshama, the Kushāna scion, the great king, the king of kings, as *devaputra*, and most likely enshrined the statue of his imperial overlord in the *devakula* to which further endowments of a garden, a tank and a well were made. The heaviness and other general features of the Mat statue in question have a great deal of affinity with the figure of Wema Kadphises appearing on his coins. This line of reasoning would justify us also in identifying the unnamed Mahārāja rājadirāja devaputra Kushāna of the Taxila silver scroll with the great Kushāna emperor Wema Kadphises.⁴

1. Translation from the *Revue Numismatique*, IVme Ser., Tome V, 1901, p. 155; *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p. 427.
2. There can be very little doubt now that Kujula Kara Kadphises preceded Wema; the identity of the former with Kujula Kadphises Kiu-tsiu-kio of the Chinese texts, is almost certain.
3. B. N. Puri thinks that Shāhi Vamataksha (he omits *m* apparently clear in the inscription) was the first ruler of a later Kushāna dynasty, that of the Kushānaputras, to which Vashishka, Kanishka II and Kanishka III belonged. These four kings ruled according to him from c. 268 A. D. to c. 332 A. D.; *Indian Culture*, Vol. VIII, pp. 193-6.
4. Thomas thinks, 'that the designation *devaputra* was not applied to any Kushāna king prior to Chandana Kanishka; and it would follow that the Maharaja rajadiraja devaputra Khushana of the Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription was Kanishka' (*ibid*, p. 312). But I have shown above that the inscription and the epithet might as well have been associated with the name of Wema Kadphises.

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It follows from what has been said above that no distinction need be made between Kujula Kara Kadphises and Kujula Kadphises, as Rapson seems to have done.¹ If these two be not identical, Kadaphes has also to be separated from them, and we shall have to presume that three separate Kushāna chiefs preceded Wema, which will be an untenable supposition.² But the Chinese evidence is so explicit in this matter that Yen-kao-tchen immediately succeeded his octogenerian father Kiu-tsiu-kio, that hardly any doubt exists there about the identity of all the three. Whitehead, on the basis of this very reasonable assumption, has differentiated between four separate Prākṛit forms of the name of the first Kushāna chief, viz., 'Kasa (ordinary Kadphises I coins), Kaphsa (on the ordinary Kadaphes coins), Kadapha on these Buddha coins, and Kau on the Macedonian soldier type of Kadphises I'.³ Another interesting point to be noted in this connection is the peculiar symbol usually designated as *Nandipāda*, 'bull's footmark', found very often over the back of the bull on the 'Bull: Bactrian camel' type coins of Kujula Kara Kadphises; it proves that Wema borrowed it from him. Does this also suggest that the first Kushāna chief was a Śaiva and not a Buddhist, as has been surmised on the basis of the so-called Buddha figure on some Kadaphes coins, and the epithet *dhramathita* or *sachadhramathita* occurring in some of the coin-legends of Kadphises I? The *dharmā* or *satyadharmā* may as well refer to Māheśvara or Pāśupata creed which was adopted by his successor, and the seated figure in question may more reasonably be identified as Śiva.⁴

1. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 582, f. n. 1.

2. Numismatic convention as well as other reasons would preclude any one of them coming after Wema.

3. *P. M. C. I*, p. 182, f. n.

4. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 125, f. n. 2:—'The seated figure on the coins of Kadaphes may stand for Śiva; the head seems to bear on it a *krobylos* (*jātāmukuta*), but the object in the raised right hand is not distinct' it may be Vajra one of the attributes of Śiva on the Kushāna coins. A. K. Coomaraswamy was the first to question the identification of the figure as Buddha in 'Origin of the Buddha Image' (*Boston Museum Fine Arts Bulletin*, No. 27).

COINS OF THE ŠIBI REPUBLIC

BY ROSHANLAL SAMAR, B. A., LL. B., ADVOCATE, UDAIPUR.

The ruins of Nāgarī lie to the north-east of Chittor at a distance of seven miles. It was once known as Majhimikā Nāgarī and was a flourishing city of the Šibi people. On its site now stands a small village, known as Nāgarī, included in the Jagir of Rao of Bedla, a first class nobleman of Udaipur State. It seems that the old city was situated on both the banks of Berach River and the traces of a strong bridge are still visible. I was told by the village folk, when I visited that place, that excavation work was undertaken by the Government of India and the site of the ancient temple of Śiva was unearthed, whereon stands a small modern temple of Śiva built by the villagers. The Šibi people inhabited the Punjab when Alexander the great had invaded India. Perhaps the rise of the Maurya Empire forced them to leave their sweet home for the less attractive lands of Rajputana.

Two types of Šibi coins have been reported so far. On the obverse of the first type, there is the circular legend *Šibi-janapadasa* (beginning at VII), enclosing two symbols. Of these the left one is a bold *svastika* with a taurine at each end of the arm, while the right one is a tree without any railing (Pl. V, 1-3). The symbols can be seen on Pl. V, 2-3 and the legend can be completed from the three coins illustrated; *Šibijana* occurs on Pl. V, 1 *bijanapa* on Pl. V, 2 and *napadasa* on Pl. V, 3. On the reverse there is a hill surmounted with *Nandipada*. Below the hill there is a zigzag line, probably denoting a river. The weight of No. 1, is 86 grains, of No. 2, 76 grains, of No. 3, 68 grains. Their diameters are .6" x .7", .6" x .7" and .7" respectively, the first two coins being more oval than circular in size. The reverse of all is too obliterated to be illustrated.

This type seems to be the earliest type of Šibi coins as indicated by the palaeography. The medial *i* in *ši* and *bi* is marked with a simple vertical line on *ša* and *ba*¹. Perhaps this type of coins was issued prior to the time of the Šibi people settling down at Majhimikā or soon after their doing so.

Another type of coins which have been so often picked up from Nāgarī after rains, when the upper layer of earth is washed away by water, is inscribed with the longer legend *Majhimikāya Šibijanapadasa*. Otherwise it retains most of the

[1. This is not a very cogent argument. The character of the medial *i* often differs with the form of the letter to which it is attached. *Editor.*]

features of the earlier type. On the obverse of these coins the tree rises from a small circle and there is the *svastika* and the hill; the *Nandipada* and the river on the reverse have been engraved in a fine manner (Pl. I, 4-5). The characters of the legend look more modern and the medial *i* begins to be denoted by a curved line. I am illustrating two coins of this type. The tree on them is obliterated, but the legend can be almost completely made up from its fragments on each. On Pl. V, 4, beginning at VIII, we have *Majhamikāya*, and on Pl. V, 5, we have *Sibijana* from VI onwards in addition to some of the earlier letters. The size and weight of the coin Pl. V, 4, are .7" and 81 grains respectively and of the coin, Pl. V, 5 is .6"x. .7" and 76 grains respectively; the latter coin is oval.

In 1940 I came across quite a unique type, which I am here illustrating; Pl. V, 6. The new coin is a small round piece, the diameter being .55" and weight about 35 grains. On the obverse the legend, which begins at IX, runs as *Sibijanapadasa*; it is in early Brāhmī characters, much older than that on the coins with the legend *Majhamikāya Sibijanapadasa*. The peculiarity of this coin is that the well known symbols usually found on the obverse of Śibi coins, i. e., the tree and the *svastika*, have been separated. The tree rising from a small circle has been retained on the obverse and the *svastika* on the reverse has taken the place of Hill surmounted with *Nandipada*, which are the usual symbols on the reverse of Śibi coins. To each arm of the *Svastika* is attached a 'ma' of old Brāhmī character.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Mr. Samar has undoubtedly done good service to the cause of numismatics by publishing his coins in the *Journal*. Not that the Śibi coins were unknown or unpublished. Prinsep had published them in his *Essays*, Pl. VII, 2-3; he had however given only the drawings. In *C. A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV, Pl. XXXI, 13-13 Cunningham had published two more Śibi coins; his photographs however were imperfect and contained only three or four legible letters. The same is the case with the coins illustrated in *B. M. C. Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. XLIV, 13-14.

Coins of Class I above illustrated in Pl. V, 1-3 now enable us among themselves to read distinctly the entire legend *Sibijanapadasa*. Their symbols are also fairly distinct. Coins of Class II were illustrated by Prinsep; but his drawings did not show the important word *Majhamikāya*. So far we could see only the drawings of the important legend of this type in Cunningham's *Report* and the *British Museum Catalogue*. Our Pl. V, 4-5 give us almost the whole of the legend *Majhamikāya Sibijanapadasa*. The symbols on the reverse are also clear, though the tree on the obverse has been blurred.

Mr. Allan had once hesitated to attribute these coins to the Śibis because the middle stroke in the letter śi was not clear; it can be distinctly seen on coins No. 1, 5 and 6 in our Plate.

Like the earlier published coins of this republic, the present coins were also found near Chitor; there can be no doubt that it was the capital of the Śibis by about the 2nd century B. C.

The Śibis however originally hailed from the Punjab; their antiquity seems to go back to the Vedic age. Śibi Auśīnaras is the author of one of the hymns of the Rīgveda, viz., X, 119; it is likely that the Śivas, who are mentioned in the Rīgveda, may be identical with the Śibis, though we cannot be sure on the point.

Sivapura mentioned by Pāṇini IV, 2,2 is probably identical with Sibipura mentioned in the Shorkot inscription *E. I.*, XVI p. 15. This would suggest that Jhang area in the Punjab was once the home of the Śibis. This conclusion is confirmed by the data of Greek historians, who place the Śibis at the junction of the Hydraotes and the Akesines and to the north of the Oxudraki (Kshudrakas) and the Mālavas. This tends to show that the Śibis were occupying the area between Multan and Lahore; and it is precisely in this area that Jhang is situated.

It is however not unlikely that the Śibis may have been in the occupation of further districts in the east. The reverse type of our coins *PI. V*, 4-5 shows a close resemblance to the reverse of the coins of the Kuṇindas; both have a six arched hill, surmounted by a *Nandīpada* and standing on a wavy line or river. *Svastika* also occurs on the Kuṇinda coins, though in its simplest form. According to the epic tradition, Śibi's younger brother Nṛiga was the progenitor of the Yaudheyas, who were the neighbours of the Kuṇindas and occupying the south-eastern Punjab and north-western U. P. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* places the Śivas or the Śibis in the Madhyadeśa along with the Kurus, the Pañchālas and the Vatsas. It would therefore appear that before their migration to Rajputana, the Śibis were occupying not only central and south-western Punjab but were in touch with and perhaps occupying some territory further east also.

It is quite likely that as suggested by Mr. Samar, the coins Nos. 1-3 of our plate were the predecessors of coins Nos. 4-5. The superior artistic execution of the latter along with their longer legend would support the view. But the difference cannot be of more than a few decades, because the palaeography of both is almost identical.

The coins may be attributed to the first half of the 2nd century B. C. when Mādhyamikā was an important and flourishing city. It had been besieged by the Greeks at about this time, as testified to by the famous statement in the *Patañjala Mahābhāṣya*, *Arunad yavano Mādhyamikām*.

CLAY DABBERS AS WEIGHTS IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY D. B. DISKALKAR, M. A., INDORE

It is well known that dabber-like round clay objects, superimposed with a flat knob which looks like a small handle, are found in excavations of some Mauryan sites. Such clay dabbers with hemispherical base¹ are found also in the excavations at Kasrawad in the Indore State in Central India. Some of these are ornamented with beautiful geometrical designs on the shoulders. From the discovery of inscribed potsherds and punch-marked coins found in the same excavations assignable to the 3rd or 2nd century B. C., these dabbers also can be assigned to the same period. Dabbers of a different shape, both made of clay and stone, with flat base and tapering upward, are also found in some excavations of the same period, e. g., at Bhita, Rairh and Sambhar.²

It is supposed that these dabbers were potters' mallets used for tapping the surface of earthen jars on their removal from the wheel. But this supposition seems to be doubtful, as I think that thin and small wooden bats could very well have been used for the purpose in those days as at present. Secondly, there is no reason why only potters' dabbers should be found in the precincts of the Buddhist establishments and no instruments of other artisans. Thirdly, stone objects exactly resembling the clay dabbers of the second form mentioned above, have also been found in the excavations of ancient sites,³ which could not have been used but for weights. Fourthly, the clay dabbers found in the Kasrawad excavations, quite uniform in shape, are of regularly graded sizes and weights. The weights of the well preserved dabbers are $1\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 5, 6, 9, 15, $17\frac{1}{2}$, 25, $32\frac{1}{2}$, 35, $47\frac{1}{2}$, 50 and 35 tolas. Some of these dabbers appear to be duplicate weights. Thus three of them weigh six tolas each, two, $12\frac{1}{2}$ tolas each, three 35 tolas each, two $47\frac{1}{2}$ tolas each and two 50 tolas each. This shows that there was some ratio in the weights. When we know that mallets are generally used by potters for tapping the surface of big jars and not of small objects like bowls etc., where was the necessity of such very small dabbers? In fact, the clay weights, some of which are of the form of a dabber and pinnacles, discovered in the

1. Only one of these has a flat base.

2. *Excavations at Samber* Pl. XIII-b, A. S. Gwalior, 1938-39 pl. XX-c;
Excavations at Rairh Pl. XI-20

3. *Excavations at Rairh*, Pl. XI-20.

Ujjain excavations, are still smaller in size and weight. It is also known that small clay objects, square and rectangular in shape and regularly graded in sizes and weights, were found in a large number in the excavations at Mohenjo daro. That they must have been used as different weights is generally admitted. Can it not therefore be supposed that these dabber-like clay objects like those found at Kasrawad were used as weights in ancient India, for weighing vegetables, etc.?

It may be mentioned here that two extremely small and exactly dabber-like soapstone objects were found in the Kasrawad excavations. They measure .4" only and weigh 12 grs. and 10 grs. respectively. As they have no holes at the handle, they could not have been used as ear-pendants. But, if they were not used in ear lobes as ornaments like the gold nails or pearl pins in those days, they might have been used as very small weights for weighing small and valuable objects like pearls and jewellery, just as the bigger clay dabbers were used for weighing heavy objects and the stone dabbers or stone balls with a flat base like those found in the Kasrawad excavations were used for weighing still heavier objects. As it was almost impossible to make clay dabbers of such an extremely small size and weight, stone dabbers might have been used for the purpose.

SYMBOLS ON THE COPPER BAND IN THE PATNA MUSEUM.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR.

While digging for the foundation of the building of the Imperial Bank of India, Patna branch, a copper band was discovered along with a number of Mauryan period antiquities. It bore several marks punched upon it. Dr. Banerji Sastri examined them and came to the conclusion that most of these marks could be seen on the punch-marked coins hailing from Taxila.¹ He however did not identify these marks but merely published a photograph of the band. Later on Mr. Walsh wrote a paper in which he maintained that out of the 22 marks of the band only two occurred on the punch-marked coins.² He illustrated his paper by a drawing of each of the marks and a glance at them was quite sufficient to convince any body that his contention was correct. In Vol. VI, pp. 5-8, of this *Journal*, Mr. Paramesvarilal Gupta reverted to the topic, gave a comparative table of each of the 22 marks as given by Prof. Banerji-Sastri and Mr. Walsh, and published along with them ordinary and blackened estampage of each mark, which tended to show that the marks were quite different from the drawings of Mr. Walsh. Mr. Walsh was good enough to send me a rejoinder with his drawings, tending to show that the views of Messrs. Banerji-Sastri and Gupta were wrong and his own theory correct. As the original band was available at Patna for examination, I thought that it would be best to request different scholars to examine it independently. Mr. Shere, the curator of the Patna Museum, agreed to my request and sent me fresh drawings of the symbols along with a mould of the band. His conclusion seemed to agree more with that of Mr. Gupta than with that of Mr. Walsh. Later on I myself took the opportunity of examining the marks on the original band at the time of the History Congress and Numismatic Conference in Christmas 1946 and my colleague Dr. Agrawala also did the same two days later but independently of me. Each one of us made his own notes and the present paper embodies our conclusions arrived independently from the examination of the original band. Generally speaking we found that the estampages were correct and the drawings of Mr. Walsh were unreliable. Mr. Walsh had not the advantage of seeing the

1. *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1938, pp. 85-88

2. *Ibid.*, 1939, pp. 1-5,

original band and it is but natural that his symbols should not be accurate. The surface of the band is not properly dressed and there are some indistinct lines and chisel marks near the symbols in some cases. But the examination of the band leaves no doubt as to what most of the symbols were intended to stand for. I now proceed to describe them. A copy of this paper was sent to Mr. Walsh for his observations. He was good enough to send his views, some of which are included in this paper.

For the sake of ready reference I am reproducing the plate that accompanied Mr. Gupta's paper (Pl. VI) and the references here are to the numbers in that plate.

No. 1 is clearly a *svastika* with rounded arms as shown in the blackened estampage. The photograph is indistinct and Mr. Walsh's drawing gives only the four ends of the symbol mutually disconnected.

No. 2 is a Taurine with an arrow head by its side. The photograph is slightly indistinct; the estampage and blackened estampage give its correct idea. Mr. Walsh's drawing is incorrect.

No. 3 is distinctly an Arrow-head. It can be made out in the photograph but is shown quite distinctly in the estampage and the blackened estampage. In Mr. Walsh's drawing, one can detect its upper and lower limb, with two unnecessary lines by its side. In the photograph a portion of the knob of the taurine looks whiter owing to its high relief.

No. 4. Here the estampages of Mr. Gupta are incorrect. Dr. Agrawala thinks that the sign is indistinct and looks like an inverted *mudgara* or chessman. Mr. Shere and myself think that the photograph is nearest the truth. The left hand portion of Mr. Walsh's drawing gives faithfully a part of the symbol, but the detached marks on its right are misleading. I think that the mark is Asokan *ma*, as can be seen from the photograph. The estampage of Mr. Gupta gives the impression of a cross probably due to a depression on the band at this place.

No. 5 is a *chakra* with six spokes, its outer rim not distinguished from the surrounding area. Dr. Agrawala, Mr. Shere and myself agree in holding that the estampage given by Mr. Gupta is correct. Mr. Walsh's drawing gives a wrong idea. The photograph is slightly indistinct.

No. 6. We three have found that the blackened estampage gives the most correct idea of the original mark. There is nothing like Mr. Walsh's drawing on the original. Dr. Agrawala sees

a dot also between the two transverse lines of the symbol ; it can be seen in the ordinary but not in the blackened estampage. I, however, failed to notice it on the band. The photograph here is indistinct.

No. 7. Messrs. Shere and Agrawala think that the mark is indistinct. Dr. Agrawala thinks that the transverse lines of the symbol to be distinctly seen in the photograph are subsequent accretions, the vertical portion alone being the original symbol. I hold that in this case the estampages of Mr. Gupta are misleading. The mark is indistinct, but resembles an arrow-head very closely. The photograph is here nearest the original. In Mr. Walsh's drawing one can see the top of the arrow-head ; its other elements are not in the original.

No. 8. We three hold that this mark is indistinct. Transverse lines seen in the photograph were probably not intended to form part of the symbol ; they appear like subsequent accretions. The photograph is nearer the original mark than either of the estampages. Mr. Walsh's drawing is altogether incorrect.

No. 9. We three agree that the estampages are correct. The photograph also shows the two arms of the cross, but portions of them appear white owing to the high relief. Mr. Walsh's drawing is incorrect. We agree with Mr. Walsh in holding that it would not be correct to describe the mark as a hollow cross, as was done by Mr. Gupta. The dot in the upper right quadrant to be seen in the photograph is probably due to a depression.

No. 10. Dr. Agrawala and myself agree in holding that the mark consists of three circles surmounted by a crescent. But Mr. Shere is unable to see the latter. The estampages give a correct idea of the symbol according to us two. In the photograph the crescent has come out indistinctly. In Mr. Walsh's drawing one can detect the lower three circles and part of the crescent. Two of the dotted circles in it are superfluous. Mr. Gupta has correctly described this mark, but his label Crescent on the Hill is misleading. Mr. Walsh has drawn attention to this point in his note.

No. 11. We three hold that the blackened estampage is most faithful to the original. I think that the photograph is showing the chisel marks on the sides of the original symbol. The mark appears to stand for a post in railing. Outlines of the railing can be seen in a disconnected manner in Mr. Walsh's drawing, as also those of the post.

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No. 12. Dr. Agrawala and myself agree in holding that the symbol is a taurine as shown by the estampages and the photograph. There are some extra chisel marks on its side. Mr. Walsh's drawing shows the outlines of the symbol in a disconnected manner along with the chisel marks on its sides.

No. 13 is a cross surmounted by a globe, its arm being shorter than the lower side. Dr. Agrawala and myself agree on this point. The estampages are correct, the photograph is slightly indistinct; Mr. Walsh's drawing has two superfluous lines by the side of the lower limb of the cross. Mr. Walsh had originally thought this to be a homo-sign, but he has recently informed me that he no longer holds that view.

No. 14 is a human figure in rough outlines. Here the photograph, the estampages and the drawing of Mr. Walsh all agree.

No. 22 in the plate is No. 15 of Mr. Walsh. Dr. Agrawala and myself agree in holding that this is no symbol at all; the cross-like impression has come on the band owing to its subsequent folding. We do not think that there is any symbol punched between the human figure, No. 14 above, and the tree symbols following, No. 15.

Mr. Walsh has recently informed me that he also recognised this to be a mark of folding. But as it was shown in Dr. Banerji-Sastri's photograph, he had to record it in the description of the band; he thought it best to differentiate it by showing it in dotted lines in order to distinguish it from genuine marks.

After this symbol there is a pin hole which has come out in the photograph of the band published in the *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1938, Pl. I.

No. 15 is definitely a tree symbol according to myself and Dr. Agrawala. I noticed chisel marks by the side of the tree and some protrusions on its trunk. The photograph is slightly indistinct owing to high lights. Mr. Walsh's drawing also shows the outlines of the tree with chisel marks by its side.

No. 16 is the same as No. 6 above. The photograph shows the transverse chisel marks. The blackened estampage gives the clearest idea of the original. Mr. Walsh's drawing is incorrect.

No. 17 shown as peacock on a three arched *chaitya* in Mr. Gupta's estampages does not exist in the original. It is too close to Nos. 16 and 18 to be a separate symbol. There

is corrosion on the band which gives the false impression of a peacock on the hill. The original band shows no clear punched symbol; the corrosion and depression naturally give the impression of a symbol in the photograph and the estampage. Mr. Walsh has pointed out that he has not shown this symbol at all. Mr. Gupta is incorrect in equating the symbol No. 17 col. VIII with this mark.

No. 18. The punch has made two holes in the original symbol and so the outlines are indistinct. I think that what appears as the hanging lower part of the symbol in the estampage is only a depression and not a part of the symbol. The photograph in my opinion is nearest to the original symbol. Mr. Walsh's drawing is incorrect. (No. 17 col. VIII and not No. 18). It has to be noted here, as pointed out by Mr. Walsh in his recent note that symbols Nos. 18, 19, 20, and 21 of Mr. Gupta correspond with Nos. 17, 18, 19 and 20 of Mr. Walsh in column VIII and not with Nos. 18, 19, 20 and 21 as shown in Mr. Gupta's plate, reproduced with this paper.

No. 19 is an Arrow-head according to both myself and Dr. Agrawala. The latter noticed a deep folding by its side, which seems to have escaped my attention, as I have not referred to it in my notes. Photograph and estampages are all correct; Mr. Walsh's drawing is unreliable; it is No. 18 of col. VIII and not No. 19 as stated by Mr. Gupta.

No. 20 shows the outline of a tree or a crude human figure according to Dr. Agrawala and myself. The photograph is rather indistinct but the estampages give a clear picture of the symbol. Mr. Walsh's drawing (No. 19, col. VIII and not No. 20 as given by Mr. Gupta) is incorrect.

No. 21. The blackened estampage is nearest the truth according to myself and Dr. Agrawala. The symbol is a double taurine based upon a circle in between. Mr. Walsh's drawing (No. 20, col. VIII and not No. 21 as stated by Mr. Gupta) gives perhaps the central circle.

After this mark there is the last hole on the band, about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch from the last symbol. The band has in all four hole marks, one on the left end, the second after the second symbol, the third after the 14th symbol and the fourth after the 21st.

The mark shown as No. 21 of Mr. Walsh's drawing by Mr. Gupta is a small mark under the bolt hole of the band, which held the two ends of the band together. Mr. Gupta has not included it among his marks.

A NEW SILVER COIN OF GAUTAMĪPUTRA

(*A fresh examination*)

MR. P. J. CHINMULGUND, I. C. S., BOMBAY.

In a recent issue of this Journal Dr. Altekar has published a new and unique silver coin of a Sātavāhana king.¹ It has on the obverse a six-arched hill with dots in each arch, on a platform; a wavy line below and Brāhmī inscription: *Rāṇo Gotamī...* On the reverse there is Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb. As the inscription is not complete on the flan, it would appear that the coin could have been issued by either Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the vanquisher of Nahapāṇa, or by Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. Dr. Altekar has suggested that the coin was very probably issued by the latter king. His grounds for this conclusion may be summarised as follows: Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi contented himself by merely restamping the coins of Nahapāṇa and is not known to have issued any independent silver coinage of his own. The hill device on the restamped coins on Nahapāṇa has three arches and not six. Rapson has concluded that the change from a three arched *chaitya* (hill) to a six-arched one probably took place in the reign of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi.

Now, the great Jogaltembhi hoard, consisting of over 13,000 silver coins of which over 9,000 were coins of Nahapāṇa restruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, and the rest of Nahapāṇa, has been fully discussed by Rev. H. R. Scott.² It is clear from that paper that the Chaitya device used for restamping by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi consists among others of both three-arched and six-arched varieties.³ Both the varieties are with and without dots in the arches, and without crescent at the top. Plate IV accompanying that paper illustrates all these varieties. I have also a coin of this type which I describe below:

Obverse: Six-arched hill with a dot in each arch. Fragmentary inscription.....(*Putā*) *sasi* (*ra*)..... Trace of Nahapāṇa's head.

Reverse: Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb. Traces of arrow below. **Pl. VII, 2.**

1 *J. N. S. I.* Vol. VIII, pp. 111-113, pl. VII, 5.

2 *J. B. B. R. A. S.* Vol. 22, pp. 223-244, pl. I-IV.

3 *Ibid* p. 241.

This coin is perforated. As the majority of perforated coins in the Jogaltembhi hoard were of Gautamīputra's¹, it is possible that this coin might have also come from that hoard, although I got it from a Bombay dealer.

The coin described by Dr. Altekar thus is identical in type with some of the types employed by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi to restamp Nahapāṇa's coins, and it may be safely concluded that it was issued by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

As regards Rapson's conclusion regarding the change of type from three-arched to six-arched *chaitya* (hill), it may be pointed out that he is referring, not to silver coins, but to lead coins of fabric A found in Andhradeśa, the Kistna and Godavari Districts.²

There is, however, one remote possibility that may be mentioned. It is possible that the coin published by Dr. Altekar is actually a Nahapāṇa's coin restruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. If a badly worn coin of Nahapāṇa were stamped rather heavily, no trace of the original may be visible. Rev. Scott says, "In very many cases the counterstamp is such as to completely obliterate the inscriptions and symbols of Nahapāṇa".³ Four such coins (obverse) are illustrated by him in plate I accompanying his paper. As the photograph of Dr. Altekar's coin is not quite clear, it is not possible to say with any degree of certainty whether this coin is also of this kind. Personally I am inclined to think that Dr. Altekar's coin is an original issue and not a coin of Nahapāṇa restruck by Gautamīputra.

Barring the very unlikely possibility mentioned above, then, it may be concluded that :—

- (I) The coin published by Dr. Altekar is a coin of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.
- (II) Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi not only restamped the coins of Nahapāṇa but issued his own silver currency also.
- (III) So far as our present knowledge goes two Sātavāhana kings had their own silver currency,—Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi.

1 *Ibid* p. 224.

2 Rapson, *B. M. C. Andhras*, etc, p. lxx, lxxii.

3 *J. E. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 238.

DR. ALTEKAR'S REPLY.

I am very much thankful to Mr. Chinmulgund for this paper attempting to prove that the coin under discussion was issued not by Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi but by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Sātavāhana coinage is still shrouded in so much obscurity that a thorough discussion of each new type is an urgent necessity. I am therefore particularly grateful to Mr. Chinmulgund for drawing our attention to the fact that the six-arched *chaitya* was already used by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi for restamping some of the coins of Nahapāṇa and we need not therefore assume, merely by the presence of such a *chaitya* on the coin under discussion, that it was issued by Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi.

I had stated in my paper, 'It appears very probable that the present coin was also issued by the same ruler (i.e. Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi) and we may safely complete its legend *Raño gotamīputasa Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇisa*'. Mr. Chinmulgund's arguments have not induced me to change my conclusion. It is clear that the six-arched *chaitya* was used by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, but the point at issue is whether he had issued any silver coins stamped with it. I still think that the reply to the question is in the negative.

The contents of the Jogalthembi hoard tend to disprove the theory of Mr. Chinmulgund. This hoard was a big one; it contained as many as 13,250 coins. But it consisted wholly of the coins of Nahapāṇa and of the coins of Nahapāṇa restruck by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. It does not contain any silver coins of Rudradāman I or of any of his successors. The hoard therefore was buried before the rise of that ruler and the cause of its burial can be easily surmised. Rudradāman wrested back northern Mahārāshṭra from Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's successor and the present hoard was buried obviously during the commotion of conquest at the time of Rudradāman's invasion, when life and property became unsafe at Nasik and induced its rich people to bury their hoards and fly for safety. Now if Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi had issued any silver coins of the type published by me, they should have been current in his reign and in the Nasik region, which was accustomed to the use of the silver currency during the Saka rule. A banker who had collected in his hoard about 13,250 coins current in his life is not likely to have failed to get at least some specimens of Gautamīputra's silver currency, were it really current in Nasik after its annexation. If

Gautamīputra had decided to issue his own independent silver currency, he would have started the work in right earnest with a view to drive out the currency of the foreigner. The hoard of a rich banker of Nasik buried soon after that king's death could hardly have failed to include at least some specimens of the new currency. As a matter of fact, being new, the new currency might have become more common. But as matters stand, this immense hoard of several thousand coins contained *not a single silver coin* of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi issued independently. Does it not tend to show that Gautamīputra did not issue any independent silver currency of his own? The large preponderance of the restruck coins in the hoard tends to show that the new Government was content with recalling the currency of the vanquished king and restamping it with the symbols of the conqueror.

There is another circumstance going against Mr. Chinmulgund's view. The conquest of Nasik took place not much before the 18th year of the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and he appears to have died soon after his 24th regnal year. There was probably not much time left for him to think of the issue of an independent silver currency, which had not been issued by any of his predecessors. Had he issued currency in the white metal, it is not unlikely that his immediate successor Vāsisthīputra Puṣumāvi should have issued at least some coins in its imitation. As it is, we have not so far found any of them.

All things considered, I am still inclined to stick to my view that the coin published by me is most probably an issue of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. I have re-examined it and do not find any traces of restriking upon it. The possibility of the coin being a restruck coin of Nahapāṇa is thus excluded.

THIRTY-ONE SILVER COINS OF VĪRA-KĒRALA.¹

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M. A.

Superintendent of Epigraphy, Ootumund.

In April 1945, Dr. A. Aiyappan, Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras, sent for examination to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, thirty-one silver coins he had received from the Collector of Tinnevely. At the time of sending them to the Government Epigraphist for India, Dr. Aiyappan had recognised that the coins were of the same description as No. 11 in Plate V of Rapson's *Indian Coins*, where, however, only the reading of the legend on the reverse had been given. He therefore requested the Government Epigraphist for India to decipher the legend on the obverse which had been left unread by Rapson. Dr. Chhabra very kindly entrusted me with the task. I succeeded in reading the obverse by scrutinising some of the well-preserved specimens, and in June of the same year I communicated the result of my examination to Dr. Aiyappan. I could not rest content with merely deciphering the inscription on the obverse of the coins. I considered it necessary to make a fuller study of the type and try to attribute it to a particular king. I therefore requested Dr. Aiyappan to permit me to publish an article on the coins, so that greater attention of the scholars might be drawn to their importance. He not only very kindly acceded to my request but also asked me to prepare a paper on them to be read at a meeting of the Archæological Society. Accordingly I have embodied my observations on the coins in this short paper, which is now being published in this *Journal*.

Dr. Aiyappan has informed me that these coins, which are now deposited in the Government Museum, Madras, were found as a treasure trove at Vaigaikulam village in the Sankarankoil Taluk of the Tinnevely District on the 25th May, 1944. The coins, which are in a very good state of preservation, are made of silver. They are nearly round in shape and on both sides the device and the legend are struck by a double die. All round the edge on either side of the coin are to be seen dots, as on many similar ancient types found in various parts of India. The measurement and the weight of the coins have been kindly annotated for me by Dr. Aiyappan. He reports

¹ 1. Paper read at the meeting of the Archæological Society of South India on 15th November 1947.

that their size varies from 1.7 c. m. to 1.9 c. m. and weight from 33.8 to 36.3 grains.

As already observed, a coin of this type has been published by Rapson in *Indian Coins* (Plate V, No. 11), where he has given the weight as 36.3 grains. He has not however described the symbols on the coin, though he has read the legend on the reverse as *Śrī-Vīrakeralasya*. It is inscribed in two lines in Nāgarī characters, which are of about the 11th or 12th century after Christ. Between the two lines of the inscription there is a symbol of a crocodile or *makara* moving from right to left with its mouth wide open. Now let us examine the obverse. As on the reverse the legend, which is also in Nāgarī character, is in two lines. This legend, as I have pointed out above, has not been read by Rapson. The first line reads *Śrī-Gaṇḍa* and the second *raṁkuśasya*. The inscription would thus be *Śrī-Gaṇḍa raṁkuśasya*. Before proceeding further, I must mention that the late Dr. M. H. Krishna, the learned Director of Archæology in Mysore, who has published a coin of this type,¹ has read this inscription as *Śrī-Gajāṅkuśasya*. It may be observed here that he calls the side which contains this legend as the reverse. But his reading cannot be accepted for the following reasons. In the first place, the legend consists of seven syllables on all the coins where it is fully struck or preserved. If the reading *Śrī-Gajāṅkuśasya* be accepted, the presence of a seventh syllable cannot be accounted for. Secondly, there is neither a sign of a long medial *ā* nor of an *anusvāra* attached to the third syllable of the first line. Dr. Krishna also admits the absence of the *anusvāra* by supplying the corresponding *anunāsika* in brackets. If this syllable is taken to be short *ja* (without the sign of medial *ā* or the *anusvāra*), the legend would be *Gajakuśasya*, which yields no sense. But it is not possible to take this syllable as *ja* for it bears no resemblance to the Nāgarī *ja* prevailing in any part of India. Though the letter resembles to some extent the Grantha form of *ja*, it is difficult to postulate that only for this letter the Grantha symbol was used, while for all the other letters in the legends on both the sides of the coin Nāgarī characters were employed. Moreover, it can be clearly seen that this syllable is a conjunct consonant, and as such it can only be read as *ṇḍa*. Thirdly, there are four syllables in the second line which could not be the case if the legend were *Śrī-Gajāṅkuśasya*. Fourthly on all the coins on which the first syllable of the second line

1. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1934*, page 69, Plate XVIII No. 44

is preserved, it can be read without a shadow of doubt as *ram*.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that Dr. Krishna has stated in his remarks on the coin published by him that on a card with the coin in the British Museum, London,—apparently the same coin as the one published by Rapson—the late Dr. Fleet appears to have read this legend as *Srī-Gandankuśasya*. It is gratifying to note that this eminent epigraphist was inclined to regard the second syllable of the first line of the inscription as a conjunct consonant and not as *ja*. The dental *nda* which is reported to be this scholar's reading of the *akshara* is perhaps to be explained by supposing that either he omitted to affix the diacritical marks to the syllable, which would make it the cerebral *nda*, or that his reading has not been correctly quoted in the *Mysore Archaeological Report*. It may be pertinently asked why both Dr. Fleet and Dr. Krishna have been able to see only six syllables in the legend, while I take them to be seven. The answer is simple. Apparently the coins which they examined did not show the first syllable in the second line viz., *ram*. This surmise is borne out by the illustrations of the coins found in Rapson's work and in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* issued by Dr. Krishna. It may be noted, however, that in the plate containing the reproduction of the coin in the former of these two publications, traces of the syllable *ram*, are partly and faintly visible. I might state here that another large hoard of silver coins bearing the same legends and devices which were found in the year 1934-5 at Pandalgudi in the Ramnad District and the photographs of which have been examined by me, also reveals not only the presence of seven syllables in the legend on the obverse but also that the first *akshara* of the second line is *ram*. Their photo-negatives are now preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.¹ Dr. Fleet's reading of this legend, it is needless to point out, thus confirms the correctness of my reading. On the obverse of the coin also there is a device between the two lines of the Nāgarī legend. Rapson has not described it. Dr. Krishna says that it is a beetle. But after a minute examination of the symbol both on the coins under discussion and also on those found at Pandalgudi, I am inclined to take it as a *kumbha* or *kalāśa* with leaves of mango or some other evergreen hanging down from its mouth and probably a cocoanut placed in the centre at its top.

1. Nos. 1386 to 1889 of the list: App. D. of the *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1934-5.

Thus my final description of the coin¹ is as follows:—

Obverse: Nāgarī legend

Symbol

1. Śrī-Gaṇḍa-

kumbha or *kalāśa*

2. raṁkuśasya

between the two lines
of the legend.

Reverse: Nāgarī legend

Symbol

1. Śrī-Vīra-

Crocodile or *makara*, facing proper right, open mouthed and in moving posture between the two lines of the legend.

2. kēralasya

Pl. VII, 4-5.

Having finished the description of the coins, let me now try to identify the ruler who issued them. The legends on both the sides afford a clue. There can be no doubt that both *Śrī-Vīrakēralasya* and *Śrī-Gaṇḍaraṁkuśasya* denote either the name or title of the royal personage who was responsible for striking these coins. It is well known that Kērala is the name of the Malayalam country and therefore Vīra-Kērala might well be the *biruda* of any ruler of that part of India. But it must be noted that Vīra-Kērala was the name and not *biruda* of some rulers of this region. So it is likely that one of them, who had that name, issued these coins. If we could find a Vīra-Kērala who was also known as Gaṇḍaraṁkuśa i. e., 'elephant-goat to the heroes', the identification would be very easy. This *biruda* or surname seems to be unique. *Gaṇḍarāditya* and *Gaṇḍara-gaṇḍa* are well-known *birudās* in the Chōla and Chālukya families, but I have not met with Gaṇḍaraṁkuśa anywhere else, though another variant of it in Kannada viz., *Kaligal-āṅkuśa* is an appellation applied to certain chiefs of the Kannada country. So this *biruda* is of no help to us in determining the identity of the king who issued the coins. We must now look for other means of identification. As already observed, the coins are assignable on palæographic grounds to the 11th or 12th century A. D., and therefore we must try to find a Vīra-Kērala who ruled during this period. The earliest reference that we have to a Vīra-Kērala is found in an inscription of the 29th year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājādhirāja (= A. D. 1046), where the former is stated to have been seized in a battle and was trampled down by the latter's furious elephant Attivāraṇa.² No doubt the date of this

1. I have followed Rapson in indicating the sides of the coin as obverse and reverse, and not Dr. M. H. Krishna who reversed the order.

2. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pp. 51 ff.

record, and consequently that of Vīra-Kērala mentioned in it, falls within the period to which our coins belong. But we know nothing more about this ruler from any other source and therefore we have no means of ascertaining whether he could be the person who issued the coins. One point however which has to be considered here is whether this Vīra-Kērala was an independent ruler, who could strike coins in his own name. According to Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, the veteran South-Indian Epigraphist,¹ "During the entire period of the Chōla supremacy in Southern India which ranged from the time of Rājarāja I and ended with the reign of Vīrarājendra and of his able Chālukya-Chōla successor Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I, the rulers of the Pāṇḍya and Kērala dominions appear not to have been left undisputed lords of their own territory and to have had no real power. Accordingly, the part played by them is too insignificant to take any note. The existence of the inscriptions of Rājarāja I, Rājendra-Chōla I, Rājādhirāja I, Vīrarājendra and Kulōttuṅga I in the Kērala dominion is sufficient proof that their over-lordship was well recognised in that quarter. This same fact also accounts for the absence of *Vēnāḍu* records from the Kollam year 160 to 300 (=985-1125 A. D.) It is thus almost certain that Vīra-Kērala, who was the contemporary of Rājādhirāja I, did not probably enjoy sovereign powers to be able to issue coins. He is not therefore likely to be the Vīra-Kērala, whose name appears on our coins. The next *Vēnāḍu* king who had the name Vīra-Kērala is Vīra-Kēralavarman, who reigned about 80 years after the Vīra-Kērala figuring in Rājādhirāja's inscription. His only stone record, which is dated Kollam 302 (=A. D. 1127), has been found at Chōlapuram near Nagercoil². About this ruler Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar says that *Vēnāḍu* kings emerge out of this oblivion, which has been referred to above (i. e., domination of the Chōlas), in Kollam 302 with Vīra-Kēralavarman. It is therefore possible that he was responsible for issuing the coins under discussion here. Let us see, however, whether there was any other ruler named Kēralavarman in the period under discussion i. e., 11th and 12th centuries. After Vīra-Kēralavarman noticed above, there was a king called Kōḍai Kēralavarman, whose inscriptions range in date from Kollam 320 to 326 (=A. D. 1145 to 1151). It is not certain whether he was the immediate successor of Vīra-Kēralavarman, for no inscriptions dated between Kollam 302 to 320 have yet been discussed. Though this chief is called Kēralavarman, he was not Vīra-Kērala but Kōḍai-

1. *An. Rep. of the Trav. Arch. Department* for 1920-21, p. 54.

2. *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 17.

Kēralavarman. It is therefore very doubtful if the coins could be attributed to him with any degree of certainty. We have now exhausted all the Vīra-Kēralas of the 11th and 12th centuries. As there is generally not much perceptible difference in palæography within a quarter of a century, we may also see if there were any Vīra-Kēralas a little before the commencement of the 11th century and a little after the close of the 12th century. That there was no king of the name of Vīra-Kērala or who had that *biruda* before A. D. 1125-26, we have already seen. Coming to the 13th century, Vīra-Rāman-Kēralavarman, who was also called Vīra-Dēvadaran-Kēralavarman, is known from inscriptions to have ruled from Kollam 384 to 390 (= A. D. 1209 to 1215). His successor was Vīra-Ravi-Kēralavarman, otherwise known as Vīra-Kēralavarman; his dates range from Kollam 392 to 412 i.e., from A. D. 1217 to 1237. The entire period of the former's reign and the first 9 years of that of the latter are well within the limit I have set for consideration. It is to be noted, however, that while Vīra-Rāman-Kēralavarman is nowhere mentioned simply as Vīra-Kēralavarman i.e., without the addition of the name Rāman or Dēvadaran, his successor Vīra-Ravi-Kēralavarman is called by the plain appellation of Kēralavarman, which is the one found on the coins. Though it is not impossible that either of these two might be the person who struck the coins, it is more probable that it was Ravi-Kērala who was responsible for minting them. But as neither of them is credited with any outstanding achievement, it is doubtful if the present coins could be attributed to any one of them. Here I might be asked why it is that I have failed to take account of the most famous and the most powerful of the Vīra-Kēralas, namely, Ravivarman-Kulaśekhara who had the titles Jayasimha-Vīra-Kērala, Saṅgrāmadhīra, Dakṣiṇa-Bhōja etc. The reason for this omission is obvious; the initial year of his reign is A. D. 1299,—almost the beginning of the 14th century. As a matter of fact there were many more Vīra-Kēralas after him.

We have thus examined the factors pertinent to our enquiry in the case of all the rulers who had the name or title, Vīra-Kērala or Kērala, viz.,

1. Vīra-Kērala of 1046 A. D.
 2. Vīra-Kērala of 1127 A. D.
 3. Kōdai Kērala who reigned from 1145 to 1151 A. D.
 4. Vīra-Rāman-Kērala (1209 to 1237 A. D.)
 5. Vīra-Ravi-Kērala or Vīra-Kērala (1217 to 1237 A. D.)
- Of these No. 1 was not an independent ruler and therefore he

may be left out of consideration. No. 3 is also not quite likely to be the ruler who struck the coins, because he is not actually a Virā-Kērala. Nos. 4 and 5 reigned in the 13th century, but palæographic considerations would point more to a date in the 11th and 12th centuries if not a little earlier. The only Virā-Kērala now left is No. 2. There are more reasons than one which would favour the attribution of these coins to this king with greater probability than to any other. In the first place his reign falls within the period indicated by the palæography of the coins. Secondly, as pointed out above, he regained independence by shaking off the yoke of the Chōla overlordship, retrieving the fortunes of his country which had fallen into the hands of his enemies for over a century. It is therefore very likely that in order to commemorate this great event, he issued a new coinage, in accordance with the age-long practice obtaining among the royal families of India.

Now let us consider the devices on the coins. The symbol on the obverse, as we have seen, is a *kumbha* or *kalāśa*. What does this signify? From the time of the Rīgvēda up to the present day the *pūrṇakumbha* is considered to be an auspicious symbol indicating fullness, joy and prosperity among the Hindus, and the same is the case also among the Jains and the Buddhists. During rituals and religious ceremonies of an auspicious nature the *kalāśa* is even today set up and worshipped in all Hindu houses. It is common knowledge that it is largely employed in sculpture, architecture and paintings as a decorative design. There are innumerable references to it in Vedic as well as classical Sanskrit literature. The emblem is also found on some early coins and on the seals of some copper plate grants. It is possible that it has the same significance even on the coins of Virā-Kērala. The representation of the crocodile on the reverse may indicate that the ruler had a command over a large tract of coastland and was the lord of a sea-faring people. I may be permitted, however, to suggest an alternative interpretation of these symbols. One of them, the *kumbha* or the *makara* may stand for the *rāśi* or the zodiacal sign in which the king was born. It is a common practice among the kings of Kērala to be named after the asterism in which they are born. Even today the kings of Travancore are called after the *nakshatra* of their birth. As it is not easy to represent any particular asterism on a coin, the *rāśi* to which the *nakshatra* belonged, might have been depicted. Similarly the device on the other side may indicate the solar month in which the king ascended the throne or the month in which he issued the coin, as these months take the names of the twelve Zodiacal signs. Of the five rulers noted above, the star of birth of

only one, namely Vīra-Rāman-Kēralavarman, is known and that is Śravaṇa, which belongs to *makara-rāṣi*. But as it is not definitely known which of the two devices on the coin represents the natal star of the king, I would not venture merely on this basis, to attribute the coins to him. Future discoveries alone must show the correctness or otherwise of my theory.¹

1. I am much obliged to Mr. M. Venkataramayya for some references and suggestions.

ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL COINS OF ORISSA.

BY ADRIS BANERJI, M. A., NALANDA MUSEUM.

Primitive man had no need of currency. On the whole Palaeolithic man lived a far more simpler life than his Neolithic successor, and it became more complex with his Aneolithic and Chalcolithic descendants. In Neolithic times the isolated existence of families came to an end; more or less settled communities grew up. The influence of agriculture and the art of domestication of animals brought about a profound change. They engendered community life in villages. With the villages came division of labour; a man who was good at chipping flints found himself to be tool-maker of the party. To some was delegated the task to sew the hides in order to cover the bodies, some went to hunting, some to plough the fields. This division of labour brought in barter.

But barter was merely a makeshift arrangement, whose disadvantages became apparent with the growth of population. "However narrow the limits of a district, however small the population of a village, those mutual wants by which the necessities of exchange were conditioned are bound to make themselves felt at different times and seasons; the odds are all against the tailor being down at heel at the exact moment when the shoemaker was out at elbow¹." So early man had to find a commodity which could easily be exchanged to meet his needs; and that substance was metal.²

Exactly when value first came to be attached to gold we do not know. Nevertheless Mr. C. Seltmann seems to be correct in thinking that mankind first learnt to value, next to weigh and last of all to stamp metal; or in other words, evolved from barter a metallic currency, abandoned mere currency for money and then mere money for coinage.³

PUNCH-MARKED COINS

The earliest of Indian coins are known as Punch-Marked Coins. In the early years of this century, the general belief was that they were issued by guilds and bankers. A mass of

1. G. Macdonald—*The Evolution of Coinage*, (Cambridge Mannuals of Science & Literature), Cambridge, 1916. pp. i-2.

2. [Cow or some other cattle as a means of exchange was an intermediate stage, amply attested to by the Vedic literature. A.S.A.]

3. C. Seltman—*Greek Coins* (Methuens Handbook of Archaeology), London, 1938. p. 1.

evidence since garnered, literary as well as archæological, has proved that it was a currency if not a coinage. The labours of Spooner, D. R. Bhandarkar and R. D. Banerji and later on of Walsh, and Durgaprāsād have not been in vain. What is more, it is now recognized that those are not all of the same age and as in Bairat in Jaipur State, they were replaced by Greek coins in some areas. They were stamped with several dies and hence the name. Ancient Orissa was not unfamiliar with this currency, for a find of 500 of these silver coins was reported in 1940 from Bamanghati sub-division of the Mayurbhanj State. These are being studied by a scholar. Nothing is known at present about the particular class or classes represented in this hoard.

GUPTA COINS

A unique find of three gold coins of the Archer type of Chandragupta II was made in 1939, at Bhanupur, on the left bank of the Son river, in the Mayurbhanj State.¹ In 1944-45, a hoard of Gupta gold coins was reported from Panchpir (Khiching area) subdivision of the Mayurbhanj state of which only one Archer type could be recovered.² The discovery of the Gupta coins, though rare, may tend to show Gupta influence over Orissa.

SO-CALLED PURI KUSHĀNA COINS

The next series of historical coins from Orissa are commonly designated the 'Puri-Kushāna Coins'. Formerly they were taken to be temple tokens.³ But the subsequent evidence made the theory untenable.

FINDS—The first recorded find of the so-called Puri-Kushāna coins was made in the Ganjam district in 1858. They were found four miles west of Purushottampur close to the modern village of Pandya where the remains of an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the ruins of a lofty wall, was reported.⁴

The second find was made in the Puri District of the present province of Orissa in 1893. It consisted of 548 coins of copper found buried in a small jar, 2' below the surface,

1. *J. N. S. I*, vol. II, p. 125.

2. I owe this information to Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc.

3. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 13.

4. *The Madras Journal of Literature & Sciences*, Ed. by Committee of Madras Literary Society and auxiliary Asiatic Society, 1858, pp. 75-78. Cf. also *Ind. Cult.* vol. III, p. 726.

while excavating earthworks at the Gurbat Salt Factory at Manikratna.¹

On 31st May 1917, 363 coins were discovered on the northern slope of Rakha hills in the district of Singhbhum. They were found buried at a depth of 1' below the surface and three of them were lying exposed to the view. No mould was discovered; nor any evidence of the existence of a mint was found. According to the information supplied by Mr. C. Olden, then Superintendent of the Cape Copper Company Ltd., Rakha Hill Mines; an old road runs past the place of find in close proximity of a river, within a quarter mile of ancient copper workings and surrounded by copper slag heaps. It is possible that the mint might have been erected near the spot.²

Nine hundred and ten copper coins of the so-called Purī-Kushāna type were sent by the Collector, Balasore, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1912, and were deposited in the Indian Museum by the latter.³

In 1923 another hoard of the same type of coins in association with copper issues of Kanishka and Huvishka was found at Bhañjakiā in the Panchpir sub-division of the Mayurbhanj State.⁴

The late Mr. R. D. Banerji refers to a hoard of 282 coins, then recently discovered in Mayurbhanj state. Of these 170 were so-called Purī-Kushāna coins and 112 of Imperial Great Kushānas. It is not clear from his account where it was found.⁵

Mr. P. Acharya refers to the find of 'Purī-Kushāna' coins during the excavations of Virātgarh, at Khiching, in association with imperial Kushāna coins. Some of them were 'double pieces'.

In May 1939, 105 'Purī-Kushāna' coins were found in a brass pot at Nuagaon, 3 miles east of Joshipur, and nearly 3 miles west of Bhanjakiā in Mayurbhanj State.

The same authority reports having collected few of these coins found at Sitabinjhi, in Keonjhar State⁶

TECHNIQUE—The publication of Prof. Birbal Sahni's monumental labours on Technique of manufacture of early

1. *P.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 63.

2. *J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. v, pp. 73-9.

3. *A. R., A. S. I.*, 1924-25, p. 130.

4. *Ibid.* p. 132

5. R. D. Banerji *History of Orissa*, vol. i, Calcutta. 1930, pp. 111-15.

6. *J. N. S. I.*, vol. 11, p. 124.

Indian coins, has made further studies easier. Greater observation and collection of data will undoubtedly help to garner a mass of evidence to supplement this *magnum opus*. I therefore cannot check the temptation of making few observations on this point. The Viratgarh find possessed many twin coins which, 'when broken would turn into two single coins'. According to Mr. Acharya, many of the coins found at Bhañjakia, Khiching, and Nuagaon, contained frills of the molten metal from the edges of the mould.¹ The method of casting might not have differed from that of the Yaudheya coins described by Dr. Birbal Sahni in his Memoir.

TYPES—Mr. Elliot's account does not help us much in determining the types of the coins found by him. Dr. Hoernle, however, definitely tells us that the coins found in the hoard could be divided into two broad groups, die struck 47 and cast 501. Both these groups were again sub-divided into five sub-groups according to the variety of their types.² According to Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, all the coins of the Rakha Mines Find, belong, with the exception of one coin, to Class III of Hoernle. But two different varieties of this class were noticed. The first, where the clothing of the figure of the god on the reverse, bears some resemblance to that of Kushāna coins; and the second, as in other coins not illustrated, in which, the figure on the reverse is wearing a coat, similar to that of the King on the obverse. In regard to the boot also there were two varieties, namely with boots shorter and turned up, and with the boots shown at much greater length and horizontally.³ One coin of the Rakha Hill Mines find was of surpassing interest. Hitherto all the so-called Puri-Kushāna coins bore no legend, but this particular coin had a legend on the obverse. Three cones had taken the place of the Kushāna king and below them was the word *ṭaṅkā*.⁴ According to late Mr. R. D. Banerji the letter *Ka* is still without the acute angle which is the characteristic of this letter from the 7th century. From this he opined that, these *ṭaṅkā* coins were issued before the middle of the 7th century A. D., possibly in the sixth century.⁵

The Balasore hoard on the other hand included 63 coins with the legend *ṭaṅkā* inscribed on them. In this group Pandit Binodbehari Bidyabinod distinguished four different types,

1. *Ibid.* p. 124.

2. These types have been already discussed by R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa*, but they are briefly described here at the instance of Dr. Altekar to make the paper self-contained.

3. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. v, p. 76.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-4.

according to the position of the crescent and the sun and the attitude of the figures. The Bhañjakia hoard contained two coins with the legend *ṭanka*.¹

OBSERVATIONS—Except these stray notices few have so far attempted to assess these hoards critically. Some of these have been distributed and the whole lot of them cannot be examined, yet they have raised questions which now require to be thoroughly examined. Only two scholars have so far made creditable attempts,—late R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa* and Mr. S.K. Bose in the *Indian Culture*. Yet their investigations have far from solved the problems they have raised. The first and foremost question in numismatology is the denominations and fractions, which can only be settled either by re-examination of the hoards or by a study of fresh finds. The weight of the coins of the Rakha Mines find vary from 39.33. to 87.10 grains, while the coins found in the Puri district vary from 106 to 211 grains.² Mr. P. Acharya, probably with good justification says that the Khiching find contained full, half and quarter coins, but greater elucidation of this point will be very interesting.³

The find of these coins, in association with the copper issues of the Imperial Kushānas also raises a very important point. They seem to have been contemporary with these imperial issues, if they had not supplemented them. The find of coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, along with these coins, seems to corroborate this theory. Indeed the diffusion of the coins of Kanishka, and his immediate successors is great. Little is known of the fact, that hundreds of uncharted ruined sites, in the Basti district of the United Provinces, yield such coins, and I saw a number of these in possession of Pandit Amarnath Shukla, a pioneer of archæological researches in this frontier district of India. Gold and silver may be carried to most distant lands, due to extensive commercial intercourse, but the find of copper coins raises the presumption of their use in the locality. In 1940, in the bazars of Mathura, I found that coins of Gwalior and Bharatpur are extensively used, which will not be the case in Calcutta, Benares or Bombay. The contiguity of the territories is the only explanation. The silver coins of the great Kushānas have been found in East Bengal;⁴ therefore the occurrence of copper coins in Orissa need not surprise us. But what is interesting is their occurrence at such widely separated places as Ganjam, Barabhum, Puri, Singhbhum, Mayurbhanj, and

1. *A. R., A. S. I.*, 1924-25, pp. 130-32.

2. *J. B. O. R. S.*, vol. v, p. 77; and *P.A.S.B.*, 1895 p. 65.

3. *J. N. S. I.* vol. II, p. 124.

4. *J. P. A. S. B.*, vol. xxviii, (NS), pp. 18ff.

Balaşore. In the first instance they prove, that the hypothesis that these were temple tokens must now be given up. They were current in the ancient provinces of Suhma, Odra, Kalinga and Utkala.¹ Secondly, they indicate that they were not issued by any minor local dynasty of Orissa, but by a line of monarchs who had some claim to paramountcy. But history at present is not aware of any such dynasty.

The late R. D. Banerji propounded the theory that it is quite possible that when northern and southern Bihar were annexed to the empire of the great Kushāṇas, Orissa and the eastern seaboard as far as the Rishikulya and the Languliya rivers were also conquered.² Dr. A. S. Altekar in a letter to me has very rightly pointed out that this theory requires to be re-examined. Dr. S. K. Bose has in great detail examined the question of occurrence of the coins of the great Kushāṇas, with the so-called Purī-Kushāṇa coins; and there is no need to go into the question.³ But the point whether these were imitation of Kushāṇa coins struck in Orissa or whether they were actually coined in Kushāṇa mints will remain a matter of controversy. The very few coins I was privileged to examine, seemed to suggest that they were not Kushāṇa imitations. Then I had not seen the coins found in Basti district, and I now feel confident that they are the real Kushāṇa issues, which like the imperial Guptas, were imitated for a long time in early mediæval Orissa and were supplanted by the *tanḱā* coins.

Paucity of materials, as far as Orissan numismatics is concerned, is bewildering. Very few treasure-trove finds have been recorded, and described; and as far as spade is concerned, Orissa is still a *terra incognita* to the Indian archaeologists.³ This, it is true, does not prove that materials do not exist, but no interest seems to have been taken except by a few pioneers, even regarding Muhammadan coins. It is to be hoped that the newly established Kalinga Research Society will be able to rouse popular interest.

FANAMS

Balpur is a little hamlet on the left bank of the Mahanadi in the Bilaspur district of the Central Province. According to Mr. L. P. Pandeya many Buddhist coins (?) and those of Hindu dynasties found there prove that it was a place of importance in the Mahākośala country. Two gold and one silver coins were described by Mr. Pandeya, having been found on 2nd

1. *A. R., A. S. I.*, 1924-25, p. 132.
2. *History of Orissa*, vol. i, p. 115.
3. *Indi. Cull.*, vol. iii. pp. 726ff.

August, 1925.¹ Mr. Pandeya's description is very unsystematic, he having forgotten to distinguish between 'obverse' and 'reverse.' According to Mr. Pandeya one side contained the letters *sa* and *ra* very distinctly. Below them was an animal figure, probably that of a lion. The coins are believed to be of the 9th or the 10th century A. D. and were supposed to have been issued by the Kesari dynasty of Orissa and Kośala. The other side has probably lines with dots. But Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal does not agree with this view.²

In 1896 the late Dr. Hultzsch described four gold coins of four distinct varieties.

I. Obverse:—A recumbent bull facing proper left, with a conch in front and crescent above.

Reverse:—(In two lines) *Sa (ṁvat)*.

II. Obverse:—Bull as in No. I. but accompanied by a crescent only.

Reverse:—*Sa (ṁvat)* 4.

III. Obverse:—Bull as in No. I with a *liṅgam* in front and a crescent above.

Reverse:—*Sa (ṁvat)* 7.

IV. Obverse:—Bull facing proper right with the Sun (?) in front and crescent above.³

Reverse:—*Sa (ṁvat)* 5

According to Dr. Hultzsch these four coins were obtained by Mr. Fawcett, probably from the Ganjam district and are to be assigned to the Gaṅga dynasty whose crest was the Bull. He was also inclined to the view that they were issued by Anantavarman Chōḍa-Gaṅga.

In November, 1896, 42 coins were received by the late Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle. Of these 22 were Bahmani coins and 20 other gold pieces. In the latter group, 18 coins had small gold loops attached to them, by which they were threaded to a piece of string forming probably a small necklace.⁴ The coins were thin and their average weight being from 6·5 to 8

1. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. iii, pp. 181-2.

2. I agree with the Rai Bahadur and consider the ascription to be very fanciful.

3. *Id.* vol. xxv, p. 322. nos. 30-33 and plate.

4. This habit is even now prevalent amongst high class Indian ladies who make necklace of guineas.

grains. These 18 coins and two pieces from Dhenkanal were locally called *Hoons*.

The obverses of all these coins were alike. They have the figure of a recumbent Bull to the right, with the conch shell in front and another symbol of varying form to the right. Only in one specimen, no. 28, the Bull was turned to the left. The reverse is also similar, with the exception of one specimen. The usual type is a kind of irregular oblong quadrangle between two distinct symbols. Below the quadrangle are one or two numerals, and above it, a short legend of three *aksharas*. The legend in the majority of cases was very much defaced, though Dr. Hultzsch was of opinion that in most cases it may have never existed at all. The rest were not very distinct and could be tentatively read as *Śrī-Gaṅga*. There were figures under the Bull, giving the following numbers:—3, 4, 8, 9, 13, 19, 31, 33, 34, and 44. Of these 3 occurs on one specimen, four on three, 13 and 19 on one each, 31 on six, 33 on three, 34 on two and 44 on one. The single exception of a reverse type referred to above is that, on this particular coin the oblong was wanting, the legend *Śrī-Gaṅga* is in rather large type and the figure 44 enclosed between two upright strokes takes up the whole reverse.

Nos. 25-26 were considered to be ornamental pieces, though they may have been struck from the same coin die. On the obverse side no. 26 has a rosette, while no. 25 has a Garuḍa figure standing to the left. The reverse of both the pieces are blank. Dr. Hultzsch took the oblong to be *Sa*, an abbreviation of the word *samvat*, and thought that numbers probably signified years. But he ascribed all the coins to Anantavarmman Choḍa-Gaṅga.¹

That these coins were issued by the Gaṅga kings of Kalinga, there cannot be any doubt. But both Dr. Hultzsch and Dr. Hoernle seem to have gone too far in ascribing all these coins to Anantavarmman Choḍa-Gaṅga, whereas it is not certain whether they were issued by the early or the later Gaṅgas of Kalinga. These series of dates on the coins described by Dr. Hoernle with every justification, may have been issued by the early Gaṅga kings, whose dates are now well known and not by Choḍa-Gaṅga alone.

According to Mr. R. Subba Rao, the Gaṅga and Kadamba gold coins are at present called *varige-parikahe*, which means brinjal seeds, as they look like them, and *pūjā-chinham*s, which means symbols of worship, as they were used in the worship of gods and Brahmins. They are generally found after heavy rains, at old historical places, like Kalinga-paṭṭanam, Mukha-

1. J. A. S. B., 1897, pt. i, pp. 144-45.

liṅgam, Dantapuram etc. They are also called *Gaṅga-fanams* or *Matsya fanams* according to the device they bear. About 29 Gaṅga and Kadamba gold coins were described by the same scholar. But unfortunately, he forgot to describe separately the Gaṅga and Kadamba issues and the plate accompanying his contribution was so badly produced that it is very difficult to check his descriptions.¹

In the coin cabinets of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, there is a fine specimen of the so-called Gajapati pagoda.²

Obverse :—Elephant standing to the right; symbol or character in front.

Reverse :—An arabesque design.

The coin is ascribed to Kapilendra by the late R. D. Banerji.

MUSLIM PERIOD COINS

Most of the Muslim coins discussed below have already been published and the present writer was unable to ascertain whether additional materials do not exist in private hands, with two exceptions. First of these is Mr. P. Acharya, State Archaeologist, Mayurbhanj, who stated that several late Mughal coins and those of East India Company are in the State Museum. Secondly comes Mr. P. C. Rath, B. Ed., Superintendent of Archaeology, Patna State, who has also supplied me similar information. I have to thank Dr. A. S. Altekar for drawing my attention to the last named gentleman. It is high time that these coins should be examined and results published, even if they do not possess any intrinsic value. The earliest Muslim coin attributable to any part of Orissa, is one of Ikhtyār-ud-din (Mughis-ud-din) Yuzbak, who governed Bengal from 644 A. H.=1246 A.D. This coin was first noticed by Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, who noted that the coin weighed 171 grains of silver; Mint: Lakhnāuṭi; issued in the month of Ramzan 653 A. H. (=1255 A. D.). This money was said to be derived from the land revenue of Badan and Nawadiya, which were identified with Burdwan and Nadiya. The coin is now kept in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.³ The reading of the marginal legend on the reverse was challenged by the late R. D. Banerji who proposed to read it as ARZ-BARDAN

1. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. v, pp. 249-50.

2. V. A. Smith—*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. i, p. 318. pl. xxx, no. 18. cf. also *History of Orissa*, vol. i, p. 804. I have considerable doubts about the term 'arabesque.'

3. *J.A.S.B.*, 1881, pt. i, p. 61; H. N. Wright—*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. ii, pt. ii, p. 246, no. 6. Oxford, 1907.

and Nudiya and identified it with Bardhan Kuti in north Bengal.¹ But later in life he changed his opinion and decided to read it as Armardan or ARZ-MARDAN and identified it with Umardan in Orissa.² We find the following information in the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*. "The following year, however, Malik Yuzbak asked assistance from the court of Delhi, then marched an army from Lakhnāuti into the territory of Umardan, and unexpectedly reached the Rae's (Rae of Jajnagar) capital, which city (town) they style Umurda. The Rae of that place retired before Malik Yuzbak and the whole of the Rae's family.³In his opinion Arz-Bardan was to be identified with Amardan or Umardan. Orissa was finally subdued by Sulaiman Karrani, but no coins of this prince or his son Daud Khan issued from any mint in Orissa have so far been found.

The coins found at Parimalagiri in the Patna State, are a class by themselves. They were not found in a hoard, but in a small pot, by digging a hole and further by excavations. They are all of gold. and have been ascribed to Chauhan King Rāmadeva (c. 1212-1271 A. D.). All the coins were of same type and weighed from 7.37 to 7.42 grains.

Obverse:—In the centre Lion, in front of which is a conch. Above the lion wheel or *chakra*, to the left of which is a pair of snakes.

Reverse:—Legend *Sri Rāma* (1st line)

Patana (2nd line)

The third line gives dates in numerals.⁴

The characters of the legend belong to c. 13th. century.

Orissa was annexed to the Mughal empire in the reign of Akbar 982 A. H.=1574 A. D. For a time, Orissa was given to Daud Khan, to be held as a fief of the emperor, but the former soon revolted with the result that Orissa became a part of Mughal dominions. It is possible that coins were issued in Akbar's name from some city in Orissa but no specimen has been brought to our notice. The earliest coin of the Mughals struck at Katak (Sic. Cuttak). belongs to Jahāngir's reign, dated in 1036 H., and is now in possession of Mr. H. Nelson Wright.⁵ The ancient city of Katak was

1. J. & P. A. S. B. (N. S.), vol. ix, p. 288.

2. *Hist. of Orissa*, vol. i, p. 266.

3. H. G. Raverty-*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Vol. ii (transl) p.763, note 4.

4. J. N. S. I, v. pp. 61-4

5. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol III Introduction, p. lviii.

ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL COINS OF ORISSA . 115

known in these days as Kaṭak-Bānāras. The coin cabinets of the Indian Museum have the following coins issued from Kaṭak.

Shāhjeḥan.....1 (No. 960).

Aurangzeb.....6 (Nos. 1099, 1102, 1379-82).

Farrukh-Siyar.....1 (No. 1931).

In 1751 A. D., Orissa was ceded to the Marathas, but for the next six years, coins continued to be struck in the name of the titular Mughal emperor Aḥamad Shah. To this period belongs the strange series of coins issued from Kaṭak now in the Indian Museum.¹ Some coins with their mint at Kaṭak are also kept in the Lahore Museum, now in Pakistan.²

Prof. A. S. Altekar suggested to me that enquiry should be made as to whether any other mint existed in Orissa during Mughal times. So far we do not know of any other mint. But we cannot dogmatically assert that no other mints existed. It may be that other mint towns may come to light, if the coins in private collections become available for study. The object of the present paper is to rouse popular interest in this neglected branch of Indian Archæology. Let me hope that it will induce private collectors to come forward with their coins for examination and publication, which will considerably help the progress of knowledge.

1. *Ibid*, Introduction, p. lviii Nos. 2111-12, 2114-34.

2. Whitehead-*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. III Oxford, 1914. Introduction, p. xov.

A UNIQUE GOLD TANKAH OF RÜKNUDDIN IBRAHIM I,
SULTAN OF DELHI.

BY MAJOR P. S. TARAPORE, HYDERABAD DN.

Metal. Gold.

Wt. 167.97 grs. Size 1.15"

Mint. Delhi. Date 695 A. H.

Obverse.

In double square within circle,

السلطان الاعظم
رکن الدین ابوالدین
ابراہیم شاہ
السلطان بن

Reverse.

السلطان الاعظم
جلال الدین و الدین
فخر الدین ناصر
امیر المومنین

Margin

ضرب هذه الفضة بحضور دہلی
في سنة خمس و ثمانين و ست مائة

PI. VIII A, 1

This is the only gold tankah of this Khalji Sultan of Delhi that has been discovered. Owing to his short regime his coins are extremely rare and so far only two silver tankahs, and a few billon and copper coins, are known¹.

1. Vide, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi* by H. Nelson Wright, page 105.

A UNIQUE GEMINI ZODIACAL HALF-RUPEE OF JEHANGIR.

BY MAJOR P. S. TARAPORE, HYDERABAD DN.

Metal, silver.

Wt., 85.64 grs ; size, .63"

Mint, Ahmadabad.

Date 1027 H. Month Khurdad Illahi, represented by the
Zodiacal sign Gemini

Obverse

بادشاه
۱۰۲۷
اکبر
جهانگیر بادشاه
ضرب احمد آباد

Reverse

The couple embracing in sitting
posture ; behind, the sun.

PL. VIII A, 2

This is the only genuine Zodiacal Gemini half-rupee known, and is the same coin referred to in the Presidential Address of the Numismatic Society, 1946, as having been discovered by Mr. Gyani. (Vide *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VIII part II page 96). A Zodiacal half-rupee of Leo-Amardad, 13th R. Y. has already been published by Dr. Geo. P. Taylor in the N. S. No. V. Article 33, Pl. V-1.

The regnal year is not visible on the reverse of the present coin, but it must be the 13th year of Jehangir's accession, when he was at Ahmadabad. It is a known fact that the Zodiacal coins were inaugurated on 23rd Farwardi of 13 R. Y. Khurdad-Gemini XIII R. Y. began on the 26th Jumad-ul-Awaal 1027 H. and ended on 27th Jumad-ul-Sani 1027 H. It could not possibly be of XIV R. Y., as Khurdad-Gemini XIV R. Y. began on 7th Jumad-ul-Sani 1028 H., whereas the coin under review is clearly of 1027 H. and, therefore, the regnal year must be the 13th. According to Jehangir's own Autobiography, *Tujuk-i-Jehangiri I*, it appears that he entered the city of Ahmadabad on Friday 7th Ardibihist in his 13th R. Y., corresponding to 1st Jumad-ul-Awaal 1027 H.¹ (*Memoirs of Jehangir* Vol. II, p. 9, translated by Rodgers & Beveridge) and left the place for Agra on 21st Shahrivar in his 13th R. Y.,² correspond-

1. *Memoirs of Jehangir*. Tr. by Rodgers and Beveridge, vol. II, p. 9

2. *Ibid*, p. 31

ing to 22nd Ramazan 1027 H. ; i. e. he stayed at Ahmadabad for almost 4 months and 15 days due to an outbreak of a virulent epidemic of plague at Agra, which compelled him to remain during that period at Ahmadabad in spite of its unhealthy and unsuitable climate. As the climate of Gujarat was very pleasant during the monsoon, Jehangir decided to spend the monsoon of 1027 H. in Ahmadabad and then proceeded to Agra, his capital. This clearly indicates that the coin must have been struck at Ahmadabad during the month of Khurdad (Gemini) between 26th Jumad-ul-Awaal 1027 H. and 27th Jamad-ul-Sani 1027 H., when Jehangir was residing there.

Taking all the evidence into consideration and the valuable table published in N. S. No. XLI article 281 "The Chronology of the Zodiacal coins" by late Prof. S. H. Hodivala, this Zodiacal half-rupee is a genuine piece, as shown by artistical, chronological and historical considerations. Further more, it was struck from a die for silver coins.

ANOTHER UNIQUE SILVER COIN OF SIKANDAR SHAH OF GUJARAT.

BY MAJOR P. S. TARAPORE, HYDERABAD DN.

In an article published by Mr. C. R. Singhal of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, a unique coin of Sikandar Shah of Gujarat, which was not hitherto known, was figured and brought to the notice of numismatists. The coin is now with the Archæological Department of Baroda. The coin was dated 932 A. H. and the weight 209.5 grs. and size .9" with a mint mark τ over ن of مظفر such as is found on Muhammada-bad alias Champaneir Mint of Gujarat Sultans (*J. N. S. I.* Vol. IV Page 151—153, Pl. XIII C). I have a similar coin of the same denomination weighing 207.869 grs., .92" in size and dated 932 A. H. but an extra 'Alif' is found on the obverse between ب and الله thus بالله is written بالله which is evidently a die-cutter's mistake. This coin is figured below together with another unique coin of smaller denomination, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the full of 30 unit piece, of the same ruler, the weight of which is 103.39 grs. size .8" and date 932 A. H. (Pl. VIII A, 3-4). This coin however has no similar mint mark on the reverse, but a small circle over ن of مظفر and was probably issued from another mint.

Obverse.

Within a circle scalloped circle
with dots between them.

بالله الملك
الراشق
الفتح
ناصر
ابن
الانبياء والدين

Reverse.

In scalloped circle as on
obverse.

المملطان
شاه شاه
مظفر ٩٣٢
سكندر بن

Mint mark O over ن of مظفر
Pl. VIII A 3-4

AHMADĀBĀD COINS OF NĀDIR SHĀH.

BY MR. M. K. THAKORE, B. A., LL. B., BOMBAY CIVIL
SERVICE (JDL.), CIVIL JUDGE, KOPARGAON.

Coins of Nādir Shāh of the year A. H. 1152 bearing the mint-name Aḥmadābād are an instance of a numismatic puzzle. Referring to these coins the late Dr. G. P. Taylor said: "Now coins struck in Persia by Nādir Qulī, the founder of the Afshārid Dynasty, bear precisely this legend; and the Hijri year 1152 or 1739-40 of the Christian Era, is the very year in which that monarch swooped down on Hindūstān with his destroying host, returning only after the terrible massacre in the streets of Dehlī and its fifty-eight days' sack.....It nowhere appears, however, that Nādir Shāh marched in the direction of Aḥmadābād; and it thus becomes an interesting problem to account for the issue of rupees in his name struck, if the legend tell truly, in this (Aḥmadābād) city."¹

Dr. Taylor who was thus intrigued by these coins sent a rupee and a half rupee to the renowned scholar Rodgers, who as a provisional solution of the problem suggested that "these coins had been struck by the good folk of Aḥmadābād in a panic of fear, lest Nādir Shāh might suddenly present himself and his army in the neighbouring district. Doubtless they had heard how he had made his soldiers yield up the plunder they had obtained in Dehlī and with it caused rupees to be struck in Shāhjahānābād. Hence Momin Khān, the Mughal Viceroy of Gujarāt, and his advisers in this (Aḥmadābād) city may have thought the best thing they could do would be to coin the like rupees at their mint too in anticipation of the tyrant's dreaded coming, and then go forth to meet him, bearing in their hands these evident tokens of submission. So might they hope that the Persian invader, thus pacified, would not hand over their city to the horrors of a sack by savage soldiery."²

These coins were next considered by Mr. A. Masters, in his admirable paper on "Post-Mughal Coins of Aḥmadābād"³. After discussing the Aḥmadābād coins of Bedār Bakht, which, he concluded were minted, not at

1. On Some Coins illustrating the History of Gujarat" By the Rev. Dr. Geo P. Taylor, M. A., D. D., *Gujarat College Magazine*—page 78.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *N. S.* No. XXII.

Ahmadābād, but at Shāhjahānābād, he proceeds: "For the coins of Bedār Bakht I have referred to,—we have I think, an exact parallel in Nādir Shāh's issue of 1152 A. H. It is well known that Nādir Shāh had no connection with Gujarāt. He conquered Dehlī and imprisoned the Emperor. Watson (B. G. page 322) says, 'except that coin was struck in Nādir's name, the collapse of Mughal power caused little change in Gujarāt.' It is probably just as true to say that the collapse of Mughal power caused no change in Gujarāt. Ahmadābād was in joint possession of the powerful Momin Khān and the Maratha Rangoji. Neither of them was likely to recognize a foreign invader to the extent of striking coins in his name. Nādir Shāh is said to have converted a portion of the plunder of Dehlī into coin at Shāhjahānābād, and from the similarity of style of the Ahmadābād to the other pieces of the invader, probability seems to be on the side of the Ahmadābād as well as the coins with other "Mint" names being all struck at one time in Dehlī."

The last word on the subject however has not been said. I, therefore, venture to suggest that the clue to this problem lies in the pages of *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, and supports the provisional explanation offered by Rodgers. I give below the relevant Persian text¹ and its translation².

(۱) شاهنشاه نادرشاه که از ایران دیار به عزم سیر بهارستان هندوستان بانوج گران برچهل کره‌هی دارالخلافت رسید و پس از وقوع جنگ سلطانی کار به مصالحه انجامید. مختصات به مقتضای قرار گرفت و در بادشاه را چون شمس و قمر اجتماع واقع گشت و بانفاق یکدیگر بدارالخلافت وارد گشته در اسد برج قله ارک چندی قران السعدین به عرصه ظهور آمد. اگرچه سرفرازی آنها و ممالک دیگر را مدخلی به تسرید این اوراق که منحصر بر روئد صریح گجرات است ندایت بنابر تقریب سکه نادرشاه که تا بردنش در دارالخلافت در بعضی بلاد هند بدین مقصود موزون بر و جوه در اهم و دنائیر زده بودند. سکه هست سلطان بر سلاطین جهان شاه شاهان نادرصاحب قران و بر رخ دیگر خلد الله ملکه ضرب فلان مکان. در دارالضرب احمدآباد شانزد هم شهر محرم الحرام سال هزار و صد و پنجاه و دو فیروز روپیة و اشرفی چندی مسکوک گردید.

(۲) از آنجا که نادرشاه در بستم شهر صفران سار روانه ایران دیار گشت و سلطنت بذات حضرت اقدس استقرار یزدونت احکام قدسی مشتمل بر روانگی او و استقلال بنام ناظمین و دیوانیان ممالک معروسة صادر گردید. مومن خان پس از ورود حسب الحکم موصوفه خویش روز جمعه لیسنجور جامع شتانت. خطیب خطبة طریقه را موشع بالقباب اقدس اشرف اعلیٰ به سمع اعلیٰ و ادائی مرسائیده مطلع گشت و در دارالضرب سکه بنام همایون مسکوک نموده چهره اشرفی و روپیة تازه روئی پیدا کرد. زرهایی مسکوک نادرشاه چون در احمدآباد چندانی به سکه نوسید بود شکسته شد. اما در زرهایی از کاتی که اکنون از سمت دهن آورده واقع ساخته اند و باقیام سکه قدیم و جدید هو در دیار سلطوط است به عنوان ندرت از آن بنظر می آید.

1. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, Persian text, edited by Syed Nawal Ali, M.A., Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Volume XXXIV, passage (1) page 252, passage (2) page 255.

2. To my knowledge no English translation of this part of *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* has been published; hence I have given my own translation.

(1) "Emperor (Shāhanshāh) Nādir Shāh, who had come from Persia with a big army with intention of making a trip to the spring-like garden of India, reached forty *kos* from the capital (Dārul-Khilāfat) and after engagement in a big battle, peace was established. Hostility turned into friendship and both the kings got an occasion like the assembling of the sun and the moon; and they entered the capital (Dārul-Khilāfat) together; and the two planets appeared in conjunction on the *Asad Burj* of *Arak* fort. Even though the events which took place there, and in other countries have no place in the writing of this book, which is written to narrate the history of the province of Gujarāt, yet this information has been given here because so long as Nādir Shāh was in the capital (Dārul-Khilāfat), coins, that is *darāham* and *dīnār* bearing on one side the following verse, were struck in some towns of India :—

"He is the *Sultān* over the *Sultāns* of the world; the king of kings, Nādir, the lord of conjunction (Ṣahib Qirān),.. And on the other side: "God preserve the kingdom" and the name of the place of the mint. On the sixteenth day of the sacred month of *Muharram* in the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-two some such rupees and *asharafis* were struck in the mint at Aḥmadābād.

(2) "On the twentieth day of the month of *Ṣafar* of that year, Nādir Shāh had proceeded towards Persia; and the kingship was again confirmed on that holy emperor; and hence sacred orders, announcing his departure and conferring powers on the governors and civil officers of the empire were issued. Mōmin Khān on receiving such an order in his name, went to *Jam'a Masjid* on the day of *Jum'a*. The *Khatīb* recited pleasing *Khutbā* adorned with the titles of that holy, noble and great emperor in the presence of the high and the low and was presented with a robe of honour. Coins in the name of that benevolent emperor were also struck in the mint (Dārul-zarb) and hence the *asharafis* and rupees became lustrous. As coins in the name of Nādir Shāh had not been struck in great numbers at Aḥmadābād, they were broken. But at present, Arcot (Arkātī) coins brought from the Deccan have been made current, which have become mixed up with different kinds of ancient and new coins of other countries, and hence they are scarcely seen."

According to *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, therefore, these coins were struck, not at Dehlī, but at Aḥmadābād, as evidenced by the coins themselves. *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* has been unanimously acclaimed to be a remarkable, important and reliable historical work. "It is considered very important from a historical

point of view as the author narrates events of which not only was he an eye-witness, but in the happenings of which either he, his father or his friends took part, and thus made history."¹ Says Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "For the half century following the death of Aurangzeb (in 1707), the *Mirāt* gives the fullest history of the civil wars among the Mughal generals, the Maratha incursions, and the natural calamities and popular disorders which attended the fall of the Mughal empire in that province. In fact we have no such complete, graphic and systematic account of that decline and fall in any of our provinces."² The author of this history, Alī Muḥammad Khān, who was educated at Aḥmadābād, was appointed Superintendent of Cloth-market on the death of his father and eventually became *Diwan* of the province of Gujarāt in A. H. 1161 (A. D. 1747), that is, nine years after the invasion of Nādir Shāh. The details about the legend on the coins, the exact date on which they were minted and information about breaking up this currency after the departure of Nādir Shāh, indicate first hand knowledge. The historian specifically says that the events which took place at the time of Nādir Shāh's invasion have no connection with the history of Gujarāt and yet he refers to them only because coins in the name of the invader were struck in Aḥmadābād mint. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the version of this historian, which I submit must be accepted as correct without any reservation. It can, therefore, be concluded that Nādir Shāh's coins of Aḥmadābād mint were struck at Aḥmadābād.

The arguments advanced by Mr. Masters may be briefly considered. The motive for striking these coins need not necessarily have been recognition of foreign invader and could as well have been the instinct of self preservation, a powerful force governing actions of man, which may have prompted those in power at Aḥmadābād to adopt this course as a stratagem, to play upon the vanity of the conqueror, if he invaded their city and thereby to try to save it from the calamity which overtook Dehli. The argument based on style is of doubtful value and loses its significance in view of the evidence from a reliable original source. I, therefore, submit that these coins were struck at Aḥmadābād, which mint name they bear, and not at Shāhjahānābād as suggested by Mr. Masters.

1. Diwan Bahadur, K. M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B., at page 751, Vol. 2, Part 4, of his Gujarātī translation of *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, published by Gujarāt Vernacular Society.

2. Foreword, by Jadunath Sarkar, O. I. E., to *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* Persian text, Part II, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Volume XXXIV.

COINS STRUCK BY THE EARLY ARAB GOVERNORS OF SIND

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH
REU, JODHPUR

In the time of Walid, the Caliph, Hajjāj, Viceroy of the Eastern Provinces of the Caliphate, sent Imād-ud-dīn Muhammad (son of Qāsim), who was his cousin and also son-in-law, with six thousand Syrian horse, against Dahir, the then ruler of Sind. The latter had ere this defeated two commanders of Hajjaj sent to meet him. Muhammad arrived at Tatta in the autumn of 711 A. D. and after a number of encounters killed Dahir and completed his task within two years. This hold lasted actually up to 871 A. D., whereafter two of the Arab chiefs established themselves independently, one at Multan and the other at Mansūrah. The possession of the latter chief extended from Mansūrah to the sea coast, which nearly comprised the territory now known as Sind province. Although both of them were virtually independent, yet they were nominally supposed to be under the allegiance of the Caliphs upto the 11th century A. D. when Mahmud of Ghāzni began to devastate Northern India.

After the death of Walid, the Caliph, his successors appointed successive governors of Sind of whom Junaid (724 to 743 A. D.) carried his arms farther into India.

We learn from 'Fatahul Baldan' that Junaid, the governor of Sind, sent his army against Marmad (Marwar), Mandal, Dalmag (perhaps Kamlej of Bombay Presidency), Barus (Bharoch), Ujjain, Malwa, Baharimad (Bahadmer), Albelmal (Bhinmal) and Jajra (Gujrat).

Further, a copper grant of Kalachuri Samvat 490 (V. S. 796 = 739 A.D.) of Pulakeśī (*Avanijanāśraya*) of Lāṭa (Gujarat), a feudatory of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, states that the Tājiks (Arabs), with the help of their swords, ravaged Sind, Kutchh, Sorath (southern Kathiawar) and the territories of Chāvaḍas, Mauryas, Gurjaras etc., and in order to conquer the Deccan, they first invaded Navasari (in Gujrat). But Pulakeśī, after a stiff resistance, succeeded in defeating him and for this act of bravery Vallabharāja honoured him with the grant of four titles viz :—"Dakshināpathasādhāra" (support of the Deccan), "Chālukkikulālaṅkāra" (Jewel of the Chālukya dynasty), "Prithvī-vallabha" (beloved of the Earth), and "Anivartakanivartayitri" (repeller of the unrepelled).

As Junaid was the governor of Sind from 724 to 743 A. D. and Pulakeśī ruled from 731 to 739 A. D., it is clear that they were contemporaries and the events mentioned above might have taken place in their times.

From the Gwalior inscription of Pratihāra Bhoja-deva, we learn that in the time of Nāgabhaṭṭa I (Nāgāvaloka), 'Valacha' (the Baluchis) invaded Marwar from Sind.

About 6,585 silver coins of the early governors of Sind, belonging to the 7th and 8th centuries of the Christian era, were unearthed at Mandore, (the old capital of Marwar), Chohatan (in Mallani, a district of Marwar adjoining Sind) and Degana (a town in Merta district, in the north-east of Marwar). A number of these coins have been deciphered and full particulars of the coins in question, along with the names of the Arab governors of Sind in whose names they were struck, are given below.

Further, as far as we know, there is not a single known collection, which has such a large number of these coins.

These are small and thin silver coins measuring 0.4 of an inch (or about 10 millimeters)¹ in diameter. Their weight is about 7 to 9 grains² (or .453 to .583 grammes), the thickness is 1/28th of an inch and they contain the legend in Arabic characters.

Further, some of them show the mark of the crescent, but on others it is left out owing to their tiny size.

(1) *Coin of Amīr Abdullah*

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
لا اله الا	محمّد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله الامير
	عبدالله
<i>Lā ilah il</i>	<i>Muhamad</i>
<i>lillah vahad hu</i>	<i>Rasul</i>
<i>lā shārīk lah</i>	<i>Allah al Amīr</i>
	<i>Abdullah</i> ³

Pl. IX. 1

(2) *Coin of Vali Abdullah*

يا الله ولي	الله
عبدالله	محمّد
و ناصر	رسول

1-2. Some of them differ a little in weight and size, but the difference is negligible.

الا

عمر

Yā lillāh valī¹
Abdullah
va Nāsir.

Lillah
Muhamad
Rasūl
Allah
Omar

PI. IX. 2

(3) Coin of *Muhamad*

يا لله

الله

محمّد

محمّد

و ناصر

رسول

الله

محمّد

Yā lillāh bah
Muhamad
Va Nāsir

Lillah
Muhamad
Rasūl
Allah
Muhamad
Reverse

Obverse

PI. IX. 3

(4) Coin of *Banū Amrawiyya*

يا الله بنو

الله

عمر و بنو

محمّد

النصر

رسول

الله

عمر

yā lillāh Banū
Amrāviyāh
Alnasr

Lillāh
Muhamad
Rasūl
Allāh
Omar.

PI. IX. 4

(5) Coin of *Banu Aliviya*

يا الله بنو

الله

على و بنو

محمّد

النصر

رسول

الله

على

yā lillāh Banu
Aliviviyyah

Lillāh
Muhamad

1. Owing to the tiny size of these coins full legend is not impressed on each and every coin; we have however given the full reading ascertained from a number of coins.

COINS STRUCK BY THE EARLY ARAB GOVERNORS 127

*Alnasr**Rasūl**Allāh**Ali*

Pl. IX. 5

(6) *Coin of Banu Abdurrahman*

يا للة بنو

للة

عبدالرحمن

محمّد

و ناصر

رسول

للة

yā lillāh Banu

عبدالرحمن

*Abdurrahman**Lillāh**va Nāsir.**Muhamad**Rasūl**Allāh**Abdurrahmān*

Pl. IX. 6

(7) *Coin of Muhammad¹*

يا للة نصر

للة

محمّد

محمّد

و ناصر

رسول

للة

محمّد

*Yā lillāh Nasr**Lillāh**Muhamad**Muhamad**va Nāsir**Rasūl**Allāh**Muhamad.*

Pl. IX. 7

The differences occurring in the readings given above from the readings printed in the catalogue compiled by Chas. J. Rodgers have been thoroughly checked and found to be correct.

We hope some scholar will kindly publish the actual dates of the governorships of the persons, whose names are found on these coins.

In conclusion we may add that we will try to examine the remaining coins of this hoard and will publish the result in this journal in due course.

1. The coins of this type differ from those mentioned above, hence it is probable that they belong to different persons. Further there is also a difference in the last letter of the first line on the obverse of these coins and on the reverse the fourth line differs in full.

MACHINE-MADE COINS OF HYDERABAD.

BY MR. HURMUZ KAUS, HYDERABAD

In his article, "The Story of Hyderabad Coinage", in the Indian States Forces Annual for 1943, Mr. H. C. H. Armstead, Ex-Mintmaster of Hyderabad, says, "In the year 1858 (1274 Hijri) all mints throughout India were abolished except those of a very few privileged States, and the two Government of India mints in Bombay and Calcutta. At the same time, the name and title of Delhi Emperor no longer appeared on the Hyderabad coins, since the association which had hitherto existed between Delhi and Hyderabad was severed with the dissolution of the Moghul Empire." Regarding the machine-made coins he says, "But in 1895 (1312 Hijri) the first minting machinery was introduced, and a class of coin known as 'Charkhi' made its appearance".

In his "Notes on the Handminting of the Coins of India",¹ Mr. Faramji K. Viccaji, Ex-Assistant Mintmaster of the Hyderabad Mint, says that the 1312 Hijri Charkhi Rupees were the first machine-made and milled coins of Hyderabad. It is curious to note that both these gentlemen, so closely connected with the minting of Hyderabad coins, should be unaware of the fact, that, the Charkhi rupee of 1312 Hijri is not the first machine-made coin of Hyderabad. Capt. P. S. Tarapore has published a rupee of 1305 Hijri and 21 R. Y., in this *Journal*, Vol V, Part I, June 1943, Plate V, Coin no 14, which he rightly describes as decidedly the first machine-made coin of Hyderabad. Fortunately I possess a proof in copper **Pl. VIII B, 1**, answering exactly to Capt. Tarapore's description of his coin, and is evidently the proof, approved and accepted, for the first machine made coin of Hyderabad.

Mr. Manik Rao, the author of *Bustan-e-Asafia*,² describes and illustrates the Charkhi rupee referred to by Mr. Armstead, but is silent regarding the rupee mentioned by Capt. P. S. Tarapore. Mr. Manik Rao also gives the date of introduction of minting machinery as 1312 Hijri. Probably Mr. Armstead's source of information is Mr. Manik Rao's book *Bustan-e-*

1. "Notes on the Hand-minting of the Coins of India" by F. K. Viccaji, H. C. S., Asst. Superintendent, H. H. The Nizam's Mint, written in London at the suggestion of Mr. E. A. Smith in 1896/97, and printed for private circulation by A. V. Pillai & Sons, Hyderabad, Deccan, in 1908.

2. "*Bustan-e-Asafia*" by Manik Rao Vithal Rao. Printed by Anwar-ul-Islam Press, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1827 Hijri.

Asafia, an exhaustive work on Hyderabad of the last century, compiled from authentic and official sources.

The following is a free translation of a note which appeared in "Musheer-e-Deccan",¹ an Urdu daily of Hyderabad, dated the 17th Sha'aban 1314 Hijri, corresponding to 21st January 1896:—

"COUPLETS FOR THE NEW COINS."

"We remember to have mentioned in one of our back numbers that couplets were required and proposed for the new coins. Hence Maharaja Kishen Pershad Bahadur,² a cultured nobleman of Hyderabad and a poet of distinction, composed a couplet for the new coins, on which commentaries have appeared in Journals like "Ab-e-Zar", but nothing has been decided as yet regarding the couplet. Persian scholars are also taxing their brains in composing couplets for the new coins. For the time being we mention the couplets composed by Syed Ghulam Bhika of Peshawar, whose poetic name is "Musafir", which appeared in the daily "Vafadar", dated the 1st January 1897. Some of the couplets are quite suitable for the coins, which are as follows:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| (1) سکہ زد شاہ دکن ہر سیم و زر | میر محبوب علی فرخ سیر |
| (2) سکہ زد شاہ دکن از فضل حق ہر مہر و ماہ | حامی دین محمد خلق عالم را پناہ |
| (3) سکہ زد عادل محب پنجتن | میر محبوب علی شاہ دکن |
| (4) سکہ زد ہر سیم و زر شاہ دکن ہر ستا | میر محبوب علی حامی دین مصطفیٰ |
| (5) سکہ زد ہر سیم و زر از فضل رب العالمین | میر محبوب علی شاہ دکن روشن جبین |

Though all the above couplets are suitable for the new coins, we prefer No. 4., as it shows plainly the virtues of our august Ruler. We hope that our popular Nawab Madar-ul-Maham Bahadur and the Mint Committee would kindly approve of this couplet for the new coins".

The Charkhi rupee described and illustrated by Mr. Armstead and Mr. Manik Rao does not show the denomination. I have several coins of this period dating from 1312 to 1318 Hijri **PI. VIII B, 2**. "Musheer-e-Deccan" of 27th Muharram 1314 Hijri corresponding to the 9th July 1896, protests against the issue of coins not showing denominations, and also suggests that the new coins of Hyderabad should not only show the denominations, but also the bust of the Ruler on the obverse.

1. Musheer-e-Deccan is the oldest daily of Hyderabad. It was formerly known as "Deccan Panch", but from 21st March 1892 it was renamed "Musheer-e-Deccan".

2. Yamin-us-Saltanat, Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur, K. O. I. E., G. O. I. E., was the hereditary Paishkar of Hyderabad and was also the President of H. E. H. The Nizam's Executive Council. His poetic name is "Shad".

From the above facts it is concluded,

(1) that, minting machinery was first introduced in 1305 Hijri (1887/88 A. D.) and not in 1312 Hijri (1894/95 A. D.), as mentioned by Mr. Armstead and Mr. Manik Rao.

(2) that, Capt P. S. Tarapore's coin No 14 is decidedly the first machine-made coin of Hyderabad. Mr. Armstead's Fig. 3, Mr Manik Rao's Fig. 1 and my Fig 2; all three showing no denominations, belong to the second issue of the machine-made coins of Hyderabad.

(3) that, Capt. P. S. Tarapore's Nos. 15 to 19, showing denominations belong to the third issue of the machine-made coins of Hyderabad.

(4) that, couplets like those found on the coins of the Mughal Emperors were suggested for the coins of Hyderabad also, but were not approved by the authorities.

(5) that, it was suggested to show the effigy of the Ruler on the coins of Hyderabad, but this was also not approved by the authorities.

(6) that, the first machine-made coin of Hyderabad (Capt. P. S. Tarapore's No. 14) was in circulation for a very short time, hence it is extremely rare.

IDENTITY OF KĀCHAGUPTA

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

The identity of Kāchagupta has been baffling the historians and numismatists of Ancient India for nearly a century. We cannot even now say that we are in a position to solve the problem. It would be however desirable to sum up our knowledge and to test the various theories in the light of recent discoveries, especially of the Bayana hoard of Gupta coins.

Before we proceed to discuss the problem, it will be convenient to give a brief account of the coins of Kāchagupta. The only type known till recently was the following :—

Obverse : King, nimbate standing to left, wearing a close-fitting cap, coat and trousers, earrings, necklace and armlets, holding *Chakradhvaja* in left hand and offering oblations on altar with the right. Under king's left arm, written vertically, *Kācho gānavajitya divanī karmabhiruttamairjayati*.

Reverse : Goddess Lakshmī, nimbate standing to left on a circular, mat wearing *sari*, bodice, upper garment, earrings, necklace and armlets, holding lotus in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left. Symbol on the left, but in the centre and not at the top. On the right, *Sarvarājochchhettā*.

In the Bayana hoard, 15 coins of this type were found, along with one of a slightly different variety showing minor variations. The main type is the same, but the king wears a *dhōti* and the goddess on the reverse holds a *pāsa* instead of the flower in the right hand.

The weight of these coins varies from 111 to 118 grains, which is the case with the coins of Samudragupta as well. The figure of the king is strikingly similar to that of Samudragupta.

The different views about the attribution of the coins of Kācha may be mentioned here at the outset. The early view that Kācha is the same as Ghaṭotkacha, the father of Chandragupta I, is no longer advocated by any scholar. There can be no doubt that Ghaṭotkacha was a mere feudatory and did not issue any coins whatsoever. On most coins, the king's

name is clearly spelt as Kācha and not as Kacha, and it is very unlikely that Ghaṭotkacha could have ever been contracted into Kācha.

There is ample evidence to show that Kācha was a ruler of the Gupta dynasty and ruled not far from the time of Samudragupta. His coins have been found along with the coins of early Gupta emperors; the 25 coins of the Tanda hoard contained the coins only of Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Kācha; the constitution of the hoard suggests that all these rulers belonged to the same dynasty and were not far removed in time from one another.¹

The posture and attitude of Kācha resembles that of Samudragupta on the Standard type and the standing goddess on the reverse is remarkably similar to the standing deity on the reverse of the Tiger-slayer and Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta.

At present there are two main views about the attribution of the Kācha coins. According to one school Kācha was identical with Samudragupta; according to the other he was different from him, but came soon either before or after him. The evidence is unfortunately not sufficiently conclusive to decide in favour of either view. How evenly balanced are the arguments in this controversy can be easily understood when we note how a scholar like V. A. Smith veered from one view to another more than once.²

In favour of the identity of Kācha with Samudragupta it can be pointed out

(a) how the average weight of his coins is the same as that of the other types of Samudragupta, viz, about 116 grains;

(b) how his obverse legend *Kācho gāmaṇajitya karmabhiruttamair-divaṃ jayati* is merely a paraphrase of the obverse legend *Apratiratho vijitya kṣhitim sucharitair divaṃ jayati*, occurring on the Archer type of Samudragupta;

(c) how the reverse of his coins is closely similar to that of the reverse of the Tiger-slayer and Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta;

1. *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, p. 46. In the small hoard found in Balia coins of Samudragupta and Kācha alone were found, suggesting that both lived not far from each other and belonged to the same dynasty. In the Bayana hoard of coins, in which Gupta emperors alone were represented, we find 16 coins of Kācha, as against 9 of Chandragupta I and 178 of Samudragupta.

2. In *J. R. A. S.*, 1889, pp. 75-76 Smith advocated the identity of Kācha and Samudragupta; in *J. R. A. S.*, 1893 p. 95 he accepted Rapson's view that the two were different; in *I. A.* 1902 pp. 259-60 we find him veering to his earlier view that the two were identical. Fleet and Allan accept the identity of the two rulers. *C. I. L.*, III., p. 27; *B. M. C.*, *G. D.*, Introduction, p. xxxii.

(d) how the reverse legend on the Kācha coins, *sarvarājochchettā* is an epithet invariably given to Samudragupta alone in the Gupta records ;¹

(e) and how the difference in name need not be an insuperable obstacle in the identity of the two rulers. Devagupta and Chandragupta are known to have been both the names of the famous Vikramāditya; in the same way Kācha may have been the original and familiar name of Samudragupta, the latter title being adopted by him when the Gupta empire eventually extended to the Bay of Bengal.

The above arguments are not however conclusive. Thus (a) can only show that Kācha cannot be later than the time of Chandragupta II, when the average weight of the Gupta gold coins went up to 125 or 126 grains. Argument (b) is also inconclusive; for mere paraphrasing of a legend need not prove identity. The legend in question occurs in almost the same form on the Swordsman type of Kumāragupta I, where we have *Gāmavajītya sucharitaiḥ Kumāragupto divan jāyati*. Surely we cannot argue that Kumāragupta I is identical with Kācha or Samudragupta because of the above striking resemblance in the wording of the legends. Argument (c) can only show that Kācha coins were issued soon after the Tiger-slayer and the Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta; they may have been issued by him or by his successor or by a rival.

Arguments (d) and (e) are weighty; they render it probable that Samudragupta may have had like Chandragupta II, two names, and both may have been accepted for his coinage; the epithet of Kācha, *sarvarājochchettā*, would show that he is to be identified with Samudragupta to whom alone it is given in the official Gupta inscriptions.

These arguments however are not conclusive, and we are inclined to think it more probable that Kācha was different from Samudragupta. Chandragupta had no doubt another familiar name, viz. Devagupta. But he never allowed it to appear on his coinage. One may wonder whether Samudragupta would have permitted his familiar name to appear on his coins, supposing he had one such. *Sarvarājochchettā* was no doubt made a special title of Samudragupta, but only by later

1. In the Poona and Rithur plates of Prabhavātagupta, *sarvarājochchettā* is given as an epithet of Chandragupta II. These plates betray gross carelessness; for instance, they describe Chandragupta I and even Samudragupta as mere Mahārājas; we need not therefore conclude that the title *sarvarājochchettā* was really used of any ruler other than Samudragupta merely on the strength of these Vākātaka records.

Gupta records. Samudragupta himself did not adopt that title and there is nothing impossible in its being adopted by an immediate successor of the great emperor, prior to its being assigned to him by his later successors.

The following arguments tend to show that Kācha was different from Samudragupta.

(1) Gupta emperors have used different *birudas* on the obverse and reverse of their coins; but as far as the personal or proper name is concerned, it is one and the same for each ruler, and it occurs under his arm. This circumstance would render it very probable,—but not certain,—that Kācha, which occurs under the arm of the issuer, is his personal name and that he is therefore different from Samudragupta, who generally puts his own name Samudra or Samudragupta at that place.

(2) *Chakradhvaja* of Kācha is quite peculiar to him and occurs on the coins of no other Gupta emperor. This gives a particular individuality to Kācha and suggests,—but does not prove,—that Kācha is quite distinct from other known Gupta emperors, who do not put this banner on their coins.

(3) If Kācha were identical with Samudragupta, his *chakradhvaja* should have occurred on some other types of Samudragupta. It however occurs on none of them.

(4) Similarly, if we accept the identity of Kācha with Samudragupta, it is difficult to explain why Kācha, the familiar name of the emperor, should be confined to the *Chakradhvaja* type and why it should occur on none of his other numerous types like the Standard or the Archer type, where the name is engraved under the arm.

The assumption that Kācha was different from Samudragupta does not however solve the problem; it only renders it more complicated as no such Gupta ruler is known either to epigraphy or to literature. Several official Gupta genealogies have been handed down to us; they are however unaware of any such ruler.

R. D. Banerji was of opinion that Kācha coins are commemorative medals issued by Samudragupta in memory of a brother who had died in the war of liberation¹. This is quite an ingenious theory; *sarvarājochchhettā* on the reverse may suggest the name of the issuer and Kācha on the obverse the name of the person commemorated. The artistic excellence and the numismatic originality displayed by the type may be explained by the assumption that Samudragupta issued the commemorative pieces late in his reign.

1. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 9-10

Commemorative coins or medals are not however known to Hindu tradition and there is no evidence to show that Samudragupta had really a brother named Kācha, who was killed in the Kushāṇa war. A passage in the *Bhaviṣhyottara-purāṇa* no doubt suggests that Kācha was a half-brother of Samudragupta, but this passage seems to be a 19th century forgery and has not yet been traced to the original.¹

Numismatic evidence makes it quite certain that Kācha coins are undoubtedly later in time than the Standard and Archer types of Samudragupta; we cannot therefore suppose that Kācha was a brother of Samudragupta, who disputed his succession and was successful in ruling for a short time towards the beginning of Samudragupta's reign. If Kācha was different from Samudragupta, as seems very probable, we must place him later than that emperor, for the reverse of his coins undoubtedly presupposes the reverse of the Tiger-slayer and the Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta, which were both issued towards the end of the reign of that emperor.

Literary tradition knows of Rāmagupta as being the eldest son and the immediate successor of Samudragupta; he is however unknown to both coins and inscriptions. Numismatic evidence shows that Kācha was most probably different from Samudragupta and came soon after the end of his reign; he is however not known to inscriptions and literature. The problem of Rāmagupta may become easier to understand and solve if we assume that he is identical with Kāchagupta.

Chandragupta had an additional name Devagupta; Rāmagupta too may have had an additional name, Kāchagupta. Or Kāchagupta may have been the real name of the miscreant elder brother of Chandragupta, and later clerical error may have transformed it into Rāma, as has been suggested by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.² A little carelessness resulting in the dropping of the horizontal stroke of *ka*, which is just like crossing a *t* in the English script, will convert *ka* into *ra*; *cha* can become *ma* if the pen slips to the left just beyond the loop of *cha*. Kācha need not be rejected as an unknown name; in contemporary times two rulers of a family ruling near Ajanta as the feudatories of the Vākātakas are known to have borne it.³ If we assume that Rāmagupta of literary tradition is identical with Kāchagupta of coins, we can very well explain the numismatic peculiarities of the Kācha coins.

(a) Kācha succeeded Samudragupta; his coin type also presupposes the Tiger-slayer and the Aśvamedha types of that

1. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. V, pp 33-7; vol VI, 34-37

2. *Malaviya Commemorative Volume*, p. 205.

3. *A. S. W. I.*, IV, p 129

great emperor, which were issued towards the end of his long reign.

(b) It is but natural that at the beginning of his reign Kācha should have decided to paraphrase one of the popular legends of his father by making some suitable modifications in it.

(c) The *biruda* on the reverse *sarvarājochohettā* had not yet been used for Samudragupta. Kācha may have adopted it as an earnest of his desire to conquer more kings and excel his father. To us who know the subsequent history and fate of Kāchagupta, this title may appear presumptuous; but he may well have scored some victories which may have justified this title before he was trapped in a distant Punjab fort.

(d) Kāchagupta alias Rāmagupta had a short reign; this is quite in keeping with the relative rarity of his coins and can also explain why they are confined to one type only.

(e) The metrology of Kācha coins shows that they were issued before 125 grains standard was popularized by Chandragupta II, probably in the latter half of his reign. And this condition is completely satisfied by identifying Kāchagupta of the coins with Rāmagupta of the literary tradition.

(f) One can also understand how in the Tanda hoard of 25 Gupta coins only two belonged to the reign of Chandragupta I and the remainders were more or less equally divided between Aśvamedha and Tiger-slayer types of Samudragupta and those of Kācha.¹ Kācha coins came soon after the Aśvamedha coins of Samudragupta, which were issued towards the end of his reign.

(g) Kācha alias Rāmagupta may have been a Vaishṇava like his younger brother, Chandragupta; hence his *chakradhvaja*.

(h) The name of Kācha has been deliberately eliminated from later Gupta records; similar considerations may be responsible for his coin type not being imitated by any later ruler.

(i) The non-occurrence of his name in official Gupta genealogies may be due to their desire to leave out a collateral, who was a disgrace to the family. Collaterals are frequently left out in Gupta genealogies as preserved in official seals; Skandagupta for instance is left out in the Bhitari seal genealogy.

Known numismatic and literary data and traditions can best be explained by assuming that Kāchagupta is different from Samudragupta and identical with Rāmagupta of the literary tradition, who was the predecessor of Chandragupta II. More evidence is however necessary before this hypothesis can be accepted as a historical fact.

1. J. R. A. S., 1898, p. 46; I. A., 1902, p. 259

COIN LEGENDS OF GUPTA EMPERORS AND VIṢṆUSAHASRANAMA.

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The title of this paper no doubt sounds rather strange. The reader may wonder as to what connection there is between a mere *stotra* like the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* and the coin legends of the Gupta Emperors. The observations that follow may answer the query. Maybe, it is all my fancy; but the similarities noticed are so striking and so numerous that I cannot resist the temptation of placing them before the scholars for their consideration.

This is how I came upon them. The phrase *svayam ch = apratirathaḥ*, qualifying Chandragupta II, in the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta,¹ once arrested my attention. 'Looking intensely at the words', as Ruskin would, I began to suspect something uncanny about the expression. What exactly, I mused, is the force and the significance of *svayam* here? Chandragupta II's father, Samudragupta, we know, is described as *prithivyām = apratirathasya* in his own Allahabad pillar inscription² as well as in several inscriptions of his successors.³ This phrase has been rendered as "who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world"⁴ by Dr. J. F. Fleet, who has likewise translated *svayam ch = apratirathaḥ* by "and who was himself without an antagonist (of equal power)".⁵ Fleet does not seem to have attached any special significance to *svayam* here. Apparently it cannot be something corresponding to *prithivyām* that precedes the word *apratiratha* in the case of Samudragupta. And it would be absurd to think of Samudragupta being *apratiratha* 'not by himself' as opposed to his son who was 'himself' *apratiratha*, a contrast that is suggested by Fleet's translation. Nor can we dismiss this *svayam* as something casual or thoughtless on the part of the composer of the inscription, because it is found not in one but

1. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* p. 53, text line 4. He first omitted *chā* in the reading, but later admitted its existence, on comparison with the same expression occurring in the Bhitari copper-silver seal of Kumāragupta II (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, 1890, p. 225, note 3). The Bhitari pillar inscription has helped in restoring the corresponding text in the Bilsad pillar inscription of Kumāragupta I (Fleet, *l. c.*, p. 43) and the Bihār pillar inscription of Skandagupta (*ibid.*, p. 50). On the analogy of these records, we may presume that the fragmentary Mathurā stone inscription, ascribed to Chandragupta II himself, had also *svayam ch = apratirathena* in its proper place (*Ibid.*, p. 27).

2. Fleet, *l. c.*, p. 8, text line 24.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 43, 49, etc.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

in several inscriptions spread over a century.¹ It is not likely that the authors of the other inscriptions blindly copied the mistake of the writer of the one inscription. The conclusion is that the author of the phrase *svayam ch=āpratirathah* has deliberately used the adjunct *svayam* and that he thereby wished to convey something of a more definite nature than merely 'himself'.

Now, the only other sense assigned to *svayam* is that which is more commonly denoted by *sākshāt*, meaning 'personified' or 'incarnate'. And this, I fancied, is what is intended in the phrase *svayam ch=āpratirathah*. It follows from this that the term *āpratiratha* in this case has to be taken as a substantive and not as an adjective. It is here that the *Vishṇusahasranāma* showed me the light and dispelled all my doubt. For I found therein that *Apratiratha* figures as one of the thousand names of the God *Vishṇu*.

Aniruddho=pratiratha

Pradyumno=mitavikramaḥ || (verse 68)

We shall presently revert to *Amitavikrama* of the hemistich. Concentrating on *Apratiratha* for the present, with this clue in hand, we can unhesitatingly translate the phrase under discussion as "and who was *Apratiratha* incarnate".²

Judging from the known records, the epithet *Apratiratha*, so far as the imperial Gupta family is concerned, is known to have been borne by only two members, namely *Samudragupta* and his son *Chandragupta II*. In the case of the former, it is qualified by the adjunct *prithivyām*, while in that of the latter, it is distinguished by *svayam* prefixed to it. Taking each independently, there can be no objection, in the case of *Samudragupta*, to its being translated as *Fleet*

1. Some of these inscriptions have already been referred to in note 1 above. To that list may be added the *Nālandā* clay seals of *Kumārāgupta II*. Cf. Dr. Hirananda Sastri's *Nālandā and its Epigraphical Material*, No. 66 of the *Memoirs of the Arch. Survey of India*, p. 66. Similar seals of *Budhagupta*, *Narasimhagupta*, *Vainyagupta* (*ibid.*, pp. 64, 65, 67) and *Vishṇugupta* (*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 239), when complete, must likewise have contained the phrase in question.

2. It is well known that the indeclinable *svayam* is frequently used as a synonym of *sākshāt* both in literature and in epigraphy. Cf. for instance :

Krodh-āndhas=tasya tasya svayam=iha jagatām=
antakasy=āntako='ham ||

(Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa's *Vēṇisamhāra*, III, 32.)

and

Bhaṭṭāraka-sri-Lakulīṣa-mūrtiṣyā
tapah-kriyākāṇḍa-phala-pradātā |
avātarad=viśvam=anugrahikuṣh

devaḥ svayam Bālam-gaṇkāmauliḥ ||

(*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 231, verse 14.)

has done. In the case of Chandragupta II, however, it has to be rendered only as 'Apratiratha incarnate'. In the light of the observations made further on in this paper, on the other hand, even Samudragupta's epithet may justifiably be rendered as '(the veriest) Apratiratha (moving) on earth'. In other words, Chandragupta II was regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu, and so was perhaps also his father, Samudragupta, poetically speaking, of course.¹ The stress in both the cases is laid on the Apratiratha aspect of the divinity, which signifies 'a peerless warrior'. This epithet also occurs on the Archer type coins of Samudragupta; we shall revert to it at the end of this paper.

It is quite obvious that the explanation offered here accords well with the known history of the Guptas. We know that Chandragupta II's son Kumāragupta I was regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu. This is disclosed by the legend on the Lion-slayer type of his gold coins, which reads :—

*Sākshād=iva Narasiṃho Siṃhamahendro jayaty=anīśam*²
Here he is clearly mentioned as 'Narasiṃha',³ which comes to the same thing. In his case the Narasiṃha (Man-Lion) aspect of Vishṇu is brought to the forefront.

By a happy coincidence, very welcome light is thrown on the point at issue, namely the portrayal of Chandragupta II as an incarnation of Vishṇu. The superb hoard of Gupta gold coins recently unearthed at Bayānā in the Bharatpur State has yielded one unique specimen which Dr. A. S. Altekar, announcing the discovery, has named Chakravikrama type.⁴ The scene depicted on the obverse of the coin represents, in the words of Dr. Altekar, "Chandragupta II, receiving a divine gift from Vishṇu".⁵ We shall know more details of this interesting coin, when the full account of the hoard is published with proper illustrations. In the meantime, it may be realised that the available evidence raises Chandragupta II

[1. Attention may here be drawn to line 28 of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, where his court poet Harishena actually describes him as a god living on earth, who could be called human only because of his following human conventions; cf. *Loka-samaya-kriyā=ānuvidhāna-māra-mānushasya loka-dhāmno devasya*. *Edit.*.]

2. Allan's *Gupta Coins*, pp. 72-8, Plate XIV, 1-5.

3. The addition of *iva* to *sākshād* in the legend does not weaken the intended *rūpaka* (metaphor). It only introduces the necessary element of *utprekshā* (Poetic Fancy). We have instances where *sākshād*, *iva* and *svayam* all the three, are used in one and the same expression, reinforcing the main idea. A typical example is afforded by Valmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ayodhyākāṇḍa, II, 48), where Rāma is described as *subhrūr=āyata-tāmr-ākshah sākshād Vishṇur=iva svayam*. 4. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 182.

5. *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, Bombay, February 22, 1948, p. 31, where an enlarged photograph of the coin has also been reproduced.

to the position of a chosen favourite of Vishṇu.¹ No wonder then that we find him described in the records of his successors as an incarnation of Vishṇu. All this, of course, indicates that he was an ardent devotee of Vishṇu, deriving inspiration from that God alone and ascribing his successes to him.

The divine glory with which we find Chandragupta II thus invested seems to have received wide recognition, for we find an echo of it even in a Buddhist record in the shape of a stone inscription discovered at Mandasor in the Gwalior State. The memory of the god-like monarch must have still been fresh in the minds of the people at the time when this record was incised. It is dated in the Mālava Samvat 524 (A. D. 467-8), that is, about fifty years after the death of Chandragupta II. It speaks of him as *Govinda-vat khyāta-guṇa-prabhāvaḥ*, 'as famous as Govinda (Vishṇu) for the glory of his virtues'.²

Before taking leave of this topic, I wish to draw attention to the two little words *deva-śrī* with which the legends on many of Chandragupta II's gold coins open : *Deva-śrī-mahārāja-Dhirājaśrī-Chandraguptaḥ*.³ It is remarkable that this adjunct of *devaśrī* is peculiar to Chandragupta II's coinage alone. It is unintelligible otherwise; but in the light of the foregoing discussion, its mystery is also solved. It means 'imbued with the glory of Vishṇu'. *Deva* ordinarily means 'god', but in the *Vishṇusahasranāma* it figures also as a distinct name of Vishṇu :

Udbhavaḥ Kshobhaṇo Devaḥ Śrīgarbhaḥ Paramesvaraḥ (v. 41)

Mark the proximity of *Deva* to *Śrī* in the text and then compare *Devaśrī* of the coin legend.

The light extends further and illuminates *Devarāja* and *Devagupta*, the secondary names of Chandragupta II himself. They now lend themselves to be understood as 'Vishṇu in the form of a king' and 'one protected by Vishṇu'.

A person whose nobility of character is thus manifested is indeed above any mean act that is calculated to lower one in popular estimation. This, I think, is enough to discredit any theory that seeks, on dubious evidence, to accuse

[1. In my opinion Chakravikrama type supports this view, as it shows Vishṇu manifesting himself before Chandragupta as Krishna did before Arjuna. The type can hardly be described as portraying Chandragupta II as an incarnation of Vishṇu, as Dr. Chhabra has done earlier in this paragraph, probably because he had not then seen its photograph. *Editor*.]

2. The inscription has been edited by its discoverer, Mr. M. B. Garde, and is under publication. It is to appear in Part I Vol. XXVII of the *Epi. Ind.* It is No. 7 of Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, and has been noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1922-23, p. 187.

3. Allan's *Gupta Coins*, pp. 24-34.

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Chandragupta II of such gross misdeeds as killing his elder brother, seizing his kingdom and marrying his widow.¹

Coming back to the *Vishṇusahasranāma*, my perusal of it is rewarded with additional enlightenment along the same lines, inasmuch as my doubts about the Gupta nomenclature have been cleared. The names and titles of some of the Gupta monarchs are admittedly unusual. They all find an explanation in the *Vishṇusahasranāma*.

Gupta, to start with the name of the progenitor of the dynasty, has puzzled many a scholar. Although it has been demonstrated by many that the name is Gupta and not Śrīgupta,² yet some scholars preferred to call him Śrīgupta.³ Their contention is that *Gupta* by itself cannot be a name; it can only be a name-ending in common with the other names. They, therefore, take *Śrī* as an integral part of the name and not as an honorific. This contention is ruled out by the fact that *Gupta* again is one of the thousand names of Vishṇu:

Guhyo Gabhiro Gahano Guptaś = Chakragadādharaḥ
(verse 58).

Various inferences have been drawn from the term *gupta* both as name and as a name-ending with reference to the Guptas. It indicates their caste, social status and what not. The authors of *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, having said all that they had to say about the origin of the Guptas, wind up the statement by adding: "In any case the name Gupta suggests a humble origin."⁴ Such uncharitable remarks serve to prove how much we have still to learn.

The association of *Guhya* (Secret), *Gabhīra* (Profound) and *Gahana* (Mysterious) in the quoted text is a pointer to the proper interpretation of *Gupta*, which may thus confidently be rendered as 'Hidden.' All the four appellations refer to that impervious nature of the godhead which we find echoed in the *Upanishads* as:

ātm = āsya jantor-nihito guhāyām

If, now, we accept that the name of the eponymous king

1. The allusion is to the episode of Rāmagupta. The authors of *The Vākātaka-Gupta Age*, who have recently examined the question, have done well in suspending their judgment on this vexed problem. Their disquisition is really illuminating and is worth pondering over (pp. 161-5).

2. Cf. Allan's *Gupta Coins*, p. xiv.

3. R. D. Banerji, for instance, accepted this name. Cf. his *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Benares, 1933, p. 3.

4. *The Cambridge Shorter History of India* by J. Allan, T. Wolsley Haig and H. H. Dodwell, Cambridge, 1934, p. 88.

was Gupta, we shall not be justified in drawing inferences from it as to his caste or the like, because that sort of deduction will fit in only with the name-ending. And as Gupta's successors, from his grand-son Chandragupta I onwards, obviously adopted his *name* as a name-ending in their names, there is no question of its being equated with the ordinary name-termination *Gupta*, which is synonymous with *pālita* and which indicates that the bearer of the name belongs to the Vaiśya caste, as the name-terminations *śarman* and *varman* respectively denote a Brāhmaṇa and a Kshatriya. This distinction, in my opinion, is of vital importance and must not be lost sight of when deciding the question of the origin or the caste of the Guptas.

I have just said that the adoption of the word *gupta* as the second part in the names of the Gupta rulers started from Chandragupta I, the grandson of Gupta. The latter was thereby shown due respect to, as a revered ancestor. The question arises as to why we do not find it coupled with the name of his son Ghaṭotkacha.¹ Besides, this name appears so odd. It is an established fact that the family sprang into prominence only during the time of Chandra, better known to us as Chandragupta I. The necessity was then felt to raise the general standard, so as to bring everything around in accord with the budding empire. As a part of the programme, the nomenclature had also to be made consistent with the imperial status. Vishṇu had, presumably from the very beginning, been the family deity, to Whose grace the ever-increasing fortune was naturally ascribed. *Gupta* then came to be associated with the personal names of the royalty with double purpose: covertly to pay homage to Gupta (Vishṇu) as a thanksgiving, and to show reverence to the deceased ancestor, Gupta, who was responsible for sowing the seed of the mighty empire into which it subsequently grew. This, to my mind, explains why Ghaṭotkacha's name remained without the eponymous ending *Gupta*. As to its oddity, the *Vishṇusahasranāma* again provides an interesting comparison. The name is composed of two elements: *ghaṭa* and *utkacha*. Its first component being synonymous with *kumbha*, it may be taken as one of the names of Vishṇu, whose appellation *Kumbha* is found in the *stotra*:

Archishmān Architah Kumbho Viśuddhātma Viśodhanah

(verse 68)

Samudra, otherwise a very uncommon term for a personal name, becomes intelligible when we know that it likewise

1. R. D. Banerji (*l. c.*, p. 9) refers to him as Ghaṭotkacha-gupta. That appears to be a mistake. Two later members of the family are known by that name (*cf. Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 116), but Gupta's son was called simply Ghaṭotkacha, without the addition of *gupta*.

denotes Vishṇu, its equivalents occurring in the *stotra* being *Apānnidhi* and *Ambhonidhi* (verses 35 and 55). *Chandra*, *Kumāra* and *Skanda*, apparently alluding to Moon and Kārttikeya, may very well be taken as named after Vishṇu, His appellations incorporating *Soma*, *Guha* and *Skanda* as well (verses 54, 41 and 36). *Puru* or *Pūru* may similarly have been named after Purushottama (verse 54), and *Jīvita*, a distant descendant of Gupta, after *Jīvana* (verse 99). The same tendency is noticeable in the names of most of the Gupta queens. *Kumāradevī* and *Chandradevī* stand explained. *Dhruvadevī*, *Anantadevī* and *Mitradevī* are named after *Dhruva*, *Ananta* and *Sūrya*, all these three being also among the names of Vishṇu (verses 6, 70 and 94). It is worthy of note that Vishṇu shares with the Sun several names such as *Āditya*, *Arka*, *Bhānu*, *Ravi*, *Savitṛi*, *Sūrya*, and so forth. Of these the first namely *Āditya*, figures very prominently in the distinctive titles of the Gupta monarchs.

Krama of the title *Kramāditya*, which was borne by Skandagupta and Kumāragupta II, is not so familiar as *Vikrama* of the title *Vikramāditya*, that was peculiar to Chandragupta II. Both of them, strange to say, are Vishṇu's appellations :

Īsvaro Vikramā Dhanvī Medhāvī Vikramah Kramah
(verse 9).

Kumāragupta I assumed several titles such as *Mahendra*, *Ajitamahendra*, *Mahendrasimha*, *Simhamahendra*, *Mahendrakumāra* and so forth. Now, is it not remarkable that every one of the words involved in the above titles is a name of Vishṇu, *Mahendra*, *Ajita*, *Simha* and *Kumāra*? The first three are given under these very names (verses 29, 59, and 22), and the last one under its synonym *Skanda* or *Guha* as already shown. *Parākrama* and *Kṛitāntaparaśu*, the two distinctive epithets of Samudragupta, seem to be echoes of *Satyaparākrama* and *Khaṇḍaparaśu*, two other names of Vishṇu (verses 23 and 31). In his Allahabad *praśasti* as well as in some inscriptions of his descendants, Samudragupta is likened to *Dhanada*, *Varuṇa*, *Indra* and *Antaka*. Besides the obvious idea underlying this similitude, there is perhaps again a veiled reference to Vishṇu, because the names of the four different gods referred to are also among those of Vishṇu, second and fourth under the very names and the other two under *Draviṇapraḍa* and *Mahendra* (verses 59, 55, 29 and 61).

Chakravikramah is the legend that is found on the reverse of the unique specimen of Chandragupta II's gold coin described above. The type is named after this legend. The coin contains no other legend. The obverse contains only two

standing male figures, identified as Vishṇu and Chandragupta II, as is known from the description given by Dr. Altekar. Now, even though the name of the king concerned is not specifically mentioned on the coin, its ascription to Chandragupta II is correct because of the *vikrama* element of the legend on its reverse. *Vikrama* is distinctive of Chandragupta II, as *Mahendra* is distinctive of his son Kumāragupta I, whose various titles, each combined with *Mahendra*, we have just noticed. As for the title *Chakravikrama*, it is again an echo from the *Vishṇusahasranāma*, displaying the same ingenuity as we have noticed above in connection with the surname *Devaśrī* of Chandragupta II himself. Compare the relevant text of the *stotra* :

Arandraḥ Kuṇḍalī Chakrī Vikramy = Ūrjitaśāsanah

(verse 97)

The proximity of *Chakrī* and *Vikramī* is again remarkable, and how these two have lent themselves to the formation of the royal title *Chakravikrama*! Corresponding to Kumāragupta I's *Ajitamahendra* and *Siṃhamahendra* Chandragupta II had *Ajitavikrama* and *Siṃhavikrama*, which now become self-explanatory. *Ajitavikrama*, however, reminds us of *Amitavikrama*, another name of Vishṇu, mentioned twice in the *stotra* (verses 55 and 68).¹ Attention may also be drawn to the legend on the obverse of the Archer type of Skandagupta's gold coins, in which is read *Sudhanvī* or *Sudhanvī*, with the remark that "*Sudhanvā* would be a more usual form"² Here again we have to do with a name of Vishṇu who is called *Dhanvin*, as already quoted, and also *Sudhanvan* (verses 9 and 61).

Coming back to *Apratiratha*, with which we initiated the discussion, we have seen that in certain stone inscriptions it is applied to both Samudragupta and his son Chandragupta II. But so far as coins are concerned, it has been mentioned in connection with Samudragupta alone, and that too very conspicuously. The Archer type of his gold coins has, on the reverse, the simple legend *Apratirathah*, and on the obverse, in addition to the name *Samudra* without any case-ending (engraved vertically, somewhat after the manner of a monogram,

1. It might be too much to suggest that in one of the two instances in the *stotra* the original reading might have been *Ajitavikrama*. Too much, because several other names are found therein repeated even more than once. There would thus be nothing unusual if *Amitavikrama* is repeated once. Besides, *Ajita*, being itself a name of Vishṇu, combines well in the title *Ajitavikrama*.

2. Allan's *Gupta Coins*, pp. cxx, 114-5. The same title, *Sudhanvā* or whatever its correct reading be, occurs also on the King-and-Lakshmi type of the emperor's coins (*ib id*, pp. 116-7).

under the left arm of the king's figure, serving only as an identification mark), the metrical legend: *Apratiratho vijītya kshitiṁ sucharitair = divaṁ jayati*.¹ It may now readily be admitted that *Apratiratha* stands here as a substantive and not as a mere adjective. Plainly the personality of *Apratiratha* (Vishṇu) is superimposed (*adhyāropita*, as it may be termed in Sanskrit poetics) on *Samudragupta*, who is thus presented to us as an embodiment of Vishṇu. It was in consideration of this that I proposed to render *prīthivyām = apratirathasya* of the Allahabad inscription as '(the veriest) *Apratiratha* (moving) on earth'. *Harishēṇa*, the author of the inscription, seems to have inlaid, as it were, his elaborate composition with astute hints that would indeed make his master appear as the very Vishṇu on earth. One of them we have discussed in detail. *Parākkramāṅkasya* (l. 17) is perhaps another one. *Achintyasya* (l. 25) is yet another one. It may be pointed out that *Achintya* is again a name of Vishṇu, known from the *stotra* (verse 89). And his *sādhv-asādhūdaya-pralaya-hetu-puruṣasya* is so transparent that a Sanskritist would immediately recognise in it the well-known *Bhagavad vākya* :

*paritrāṇāya sādhnām
vināśāya cha dushkritām, etc.*

(*Bhagavad-gītā*, IV, 8).

An interested student is sure to discover many more similar instances where Vishṇu is reflected, in some form or other, in the Gupta nomenclature and phraseology.

The hoary antiquity of the *Vishṇusahasranāma* is beyond question, as it forms part of the great epic *Mahābhārata*. The *stotra* was evidently held in high esteem in the Gupta family from the very beginning. Its popularity grew with the growth of the Gupta empire. The Vaishṇava faith received further impetus during the reign of *Chandragupta II*, who was first in the family to adopt *Paramabhāgavata* as one of his official titles. *Samudragupta*, though he did not so openly profess his religious persuasion, was an equally zealous votary of Vishṇu. This is evident from the representation of the *Garuḍa* standard (*dhvaja*) on his gold coins as well as from various titles and epithets applied to him as explained here.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

A UNIQUE GOLD COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

By P. L. GUPTA, ASST.-EDITOR, AJ, BENARES.

The gold coin described in this paper was purchased by the Bharat Kala Bhawan, Benares, in 1947. It is a unique specimen of a hitherto unknown type of Chandragupta II. I shall first describe it.

Metal, gold ; size .8 in. ; weight ;

Obverse : King, nimbate, standing to left wearing coat, trousers, ear-rings and necklace, holding in the left hand *Rāja-daṇḍa* bound with fillet,¹ dropping incense on altar with his right hand ; to the left of the altar is the Garuḍa standard. Beneath the king's left arm, *Chandragu(pta)* written perpendicularly.² Circular legend, beginning at VII and ending at IV, *Śradavapritha vaśvasudha vajatya*, which may be restored as *Śrīdeva-prithviśvaraḥ vasudhām vijitya jayati (divam³)*.

Reverse : Goddess, nimbate, seated on throne, facing ; holding *pāśa* in outstretched right hand and cornucopiae in the left, resting on thigh. On the right, the legend *Paramabhāgavata*. No symbol visible at present, but the coin has suffered from hammering in the upper left corner and the symbol may have been beaten out.

Pl. VII, 3.

The coin is in a fairly good state of preservation except for the hammering mark referred to earlier. It has also suffered from a scissor cut extending from the rim at III right up to its centre.

The legends on this coin call for a few remarks. The reverse legend *Paramabhāgavata* is not so far known to occur at this place on the coins of Chandragupta. The usual legend

1 The object in the king's left hand is identical with that held by the king on the so-called Standard type of Samudragupta. Mr. Allan has described it as standard ; but that does not seem to be a correct description. Indian tradition never favoured the king being his own standard-bearer. Kings however are frequently represented as carrying sceptres in their hand and I therefore have described this object as a *rājadaṇḍa* or sceptre.

2 Below the letter *gu*, there is space enough for the letter *pta*, but it does not appear on the flan. At this place the coin surface appears to have suffered from being beaten out ; it is likely that the letter *pta* may have disappeared in that process.

3 *Divam* is restored conjecturally ; there was no space on the coin for its being engraved. Gupta mint masters have often omitted considerable portions of the legend for want of space. See *J. N. S. I. Vol. VIII pp. 66-7*.

here is a *biruda* containing the word *vikrama*, e. g. *Śrīvikrama*, *Ajitavikrama*, *Chakravikrama* etc. *Paramabhāgavata* was however a well known epithet of that ruler and occurs in the legend on his silver coins.

In the obverse circular legend we have *Śrīdevaprithivīśvara*. Ordinarily *deva* and *prithivīśvara* both denote a king, but in this case *Deva* should be taken as a proper name of the issuer; for it is well known from the Chammak copper plate of Pravarasena II that Chandragupta was also known as Devagupta. *Devaśrī* occurring in the coin legends of the Archer, the Couch and the Lion-slayer type (Class III var. B) of this ruler and is probably intended to refer to the other favourite name of the emperor by *double entendre*.

The palæography of two of the letters on this coin is worth noting. Of these one is *gu* in the perpendicular legend on the obverse. The medial *u mātrā* of *gu* is generally denoted in Gupta palæography by a round semi-circle attached below its right limb and reaching up to nearly half its height. The form of *gu* on the present coin is unusual, and it was probably necessitated by the immediate contiguity of the *daṇḍa* on the right, leaving no sufficient space for the usual form of *gu*. The present form of *gu* is however to be seen on a copper coin of Kumāragupta in the Bodleian collection (*B. M. C.* p. 113) and also on a silver coin of Skandagupta of the Altar type (*Ibid.*, p. 122) issued in the west. Can this circumstance suggest that the present coin was also issued in the western part of the Gupta dominion? Among the gold coins the present form of *gu* is to be seen only on the coins of Narasimhagupta on the obverse between the king's feet (*Ibid.*, p. 137).

The second letter worth noting is *bha* occurring on the reverse. Its form is rather unusual, but it is probably due to the instrument having slipped while engraving the top of the left limb.

It would be desirable to discuss here another gold coin of Chandragupta II, which really seems to have belonged to the Standard type. It was obtained by Rodgers in 1890 from Haripura in the Punjab and has been described in *J. R. A. S.*, 1893, p. 145 by V. A. Smith.

Obverse: King standing left, casting incense on altar; trident with fillet above altar; king's left arm raised and passed through the loop of spear.¹ Legend arranged perpendicularly, *Chandra* under left arm of the King, and *Gupta* out-side the spear.

1. *Rājadaṇḍa* had been taken to be a spear by Smith,

Reverse: Throned goddess carrying cornucopiæ, her body attenuated wasplike. No legend.

The coin is not illustrated and the description is not complete, but it shows that the coin is of the Standard type and belonged to Chandragupta II. The coin was attributed to Chandragupta II but it was suggested that it was probably issued by some Śaka feudatory of the Guptas. This probability was suggested simply on the ground of its find-place being in the Punjab, and Rodgers was inclined to read *śaka* for *gupta*, but *pa* is said to be clear on the coin. We are not aware of any feudatory as being authorised by the Guptas to issue coins in their name. So this suggestion is not tenable and the more so in view of the present coin.

The description of the two coins differs in many respects, but it seems that they are of the same king and are of the same type.

While the name of the king Chandragupta is written on the Kalābhawan coin in a single perpendicular line, it is written on Rodgers' coin in two perpendicular lines, as on the coins of Samudragupta, Standard type, var. B. We know that Samudragupta had issued his coins in both the forms, i.e. name in a single perpendicular line, and in two perpendicular lines. Where the name is in a single line, it is only *Samudra* and *Gupta* is omitted. But in the case of Chandragupta the name under arm is full on both the coins, and this could be possible because it has only four letters. So, like the coins of Samudragupta these coins may be of two varieties of the same type.

The other striking difference in the motif of the obverse of the two coins is that one has the Garuḍa standard and the other trident with fillet above the standard. We do not know any Gupta coin with trident in this place. Even on the coins of Chandragupta I and the Battle-axe type of Samudragupta, where there is no Garuḍa standard, the royal emblem of the Guptas, we do not find its place taken by the trident. The trident was the emblem of the Kushāṇas; so one may be inclined to attribute Rodgers' coin to some ruler of that dynasty. But to me it appears very probable that the shape of Garuḍa with its spread wings has been mistaken for a trident, crudely executed. Really speaking, the so-called trident was intended to be a Garuḍa standard.

The only material difference between the two coins is that our coin has got a legend on the reverse while Mr. Rodgers' had none. No Gupta coin is known without a reverse legend, so, in the absence of the illustration of the coin, no plausible

explanation can be suggested at present. Is it that the legend was overlooked? Is it that there was legend and could not be deciphered?

Any way, Rodgers' coin too was a genuine issue of Chandragupta II and was possibly another variety of this type.

EDITOR'S REMARKS

While publishing this unique Standard type coin of Chandragupta II, Mr. Gupta has done very well in drawing our attention to another coin attributed to that ruler, which apparently seems to have belonged to the same type. Both Smith and Rodgers agree that the Haripura coin described by them has *Chandra* written perpendicularly under the left arm of the king, and that the latter holds in his left hand an object variously described as a spear, a standard or a *rājadaṇḍa*. The same is the case with the present coin. The reverse of both has Goddess seated on throne. The resemblance is therefore striking and lends colour to the view that the coin of Rodgers was also another issue of the Standard type of Chandragupta.

Unfortunately the coin of Rodgers has not been illustrated and so it is very difficult to arrive at a convincing conclusion on the present point. To make matters more complicated, Smith and Rodgers, who were both experienced numismatists, differ in reading the legend on the obverse. Both agree that *Chandra* is written under the arm; but Smith detected traces of a *p* outside the spear and so was inclined to complete the legend as *Chandragupta*. Rodgers on the other hand read the word as *Shāka*.

I am not inclined to agree with the view of Mr. Gupta that the coin of Rodgers was another specimen of the Standard type of Chandragupta II.

(1) Rodgers' coin was in pale gold, obviously it was heavily adulterated and Chandragupta II is so far not known to have issued any coins in base gold. Gupta empire was at the height of its prosperity and Chandragupta is not likely to have sanctioned the issue of adulterated gold coins.

(2) It has been noted that the goddess on the reverse of the coin of Rodgers had an attenuated and wasp-like body. Such is the case with most of the coins issued by later Kushāṇas, and not with any issued by Chandragupta II, whose coins show the numismatic art at a high level.

(3) If we are to follow Mr. Gupta, we have to suppose that Gupta mint-masters in charge of this rather rare type were so incompetent and worthless that what they engraved as a

Garuḍa standard was possible to be mistaken as a trident. I think this very improbable.

(4) Both Smith and Rodgers are positive that the object under discussion was a trident with fillet on its staff. Chandra-gupta, who expressly describes himself as Paramabhāgavata on the reverse of this very type, would certainly have realised the incongruity of replacing the usual Garuḍadhvaja associated with Viṣṇu by trident associated with Śiva.

(5) When we remember how the reading of the legend was a point of difference between Smith and Rodgers, it is very unlikely that they should have overlooked entirely the legend on the reverse. I think it but reasonable to assume that the coin in question had no legend on the reverse, as expressly stated by Rodgers and Smith. This would tend to show that it was a late Kushāṇa and not a Gupta coin, for the former had usually no legend on the reverse.

(6) Another point worth noting is that both Smith and Rodgers are quite silent as to the existence of a circular legend on the obverse of their coin. This shows that the coin had no circular as Brāhmī legend, as is the case with most of the coins issued by the later Kushāṇas. The Kalābhawana coin has a fairly long legend on the obverse and so Rodgers' coin could not have belonged to its class.

If the coin of Rodgers had really Chandra written under the arm, I am inclined to regard it as an issue of a Kushāṇa feudatory of the Guptas, like a similar other coin which has Samudra written under the arm. The coin has not been illustrated, and so it is hazardous to conjecture. But I think it very probable that Rodgers' coin had under the arm of the king Bhadra and not Chandra. In the palæography of this period, a carelessly engraved *bha* can be mistaken for a *ch*, if a coin is ill-engraved or blurred. We have other later Kushāṇa coins with Bhadra written under the arm. One such coin has been illustrated in *I. M. C.*, I, pl. XIV. 5. and a glance at it will convince how *bha* can look almost undistinguishable from *cha*. On this *I. M. C.* coin, the lower letter outside the spear looks exactly like *pta*, but the letter above it is clearly *shā* and not *gu*. On Rodgers' coin Smith could see the traces of a *pa* only, which was obviously a part of *pta* of the *I. M. C.* piece. I am inclined to think that Rodgers' coin was an issue of Bhadra, similar to the coin of that ruler illustrated in *I. M. C.*, but considerably blurred.

REVIEW

Coins of Marwar by M. M. Pandit Bishveshwar Nath Reu,
Superintendent of Archæology, Jodhpur; pp. 1-29; 5 plates.
Published by Jodhpur Government, 1946.

In the present booklet, the author gives an interesting account of the coinage of Marwar from c. 400 B. C. to 1945. Notices of early coinage of Marwar remained scattered at different places; an account of the medieval and modern coinage could be gathered from different catalogues not easily procurable. It was therefore a step in the right direction to bring out a brochure describing the Marwar coinage from the earliest times to the present day in one place. The numismatic world would be grateful to the author and the Jodhpur Government for this useful publication.

Marwar had no special coinage of its own in the ancient period. The author has therefore given an account of such ancient coins as were found in Marwar. They were however few; the bulk of the book therefore naturally deals with the modern coinage of the state. The author describes the coinage, illustrates the important types and gives the transliteration and translation of the coin legends. The book also gives many interesting facts about mint-management during the last 200 years. It is illustrated by five plates.

The author refers to the hoards 6,585 coins of the early Arab Governors of Sindha and 3871 coins of the Gadhia type. It would have been very good if these coins had been adequately dealt with in the book. Let us hope that the author will bring out fresh booklets dealing with these coins. Meanwhile he has already contributed a preliminary paper on the coins of the Arab Governors of Sindh, which we have published in this number.

A. S. ALTEKAR

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

(Held in Bombay on the 27th and 29th of December, 1947.)

The annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India for 1947 started in Bombay on the 27th of December, 1947, at 11 A. M. in the Convocation Hall. M. M. Dr. P. V. Kane, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, welcomed the delegates and commended the work done by the Society during the last 27 years. He congratulated Col. H. H. Shri Brajendra Sawai Brajendra Singhji Bahadur, Bahadur Jung, the Maharaja of Bharatpur, upon the epoch-making discovery of the Gupta hoard in his kingdom, expressed his delight at the steps he was taking to publish its contents and requested him to inaugurate the Conference.

The Maharaja Saheb then delivered his inaugural address and concluded it by announcing a non-recurring donation of Rs. 5,000 and an annual donation of Rs. 1,000 to the Society. The inaugural address is printed on pp 57-58 of this number.

Dr. J. N. Unwala and Father H. Heras expressed the thanks of the Society to His Highness for his handsome donation. The generosity of His Highness to the Society had reminded them, they said, of the generosity of ancient kings like Vikramāditya and Bhoja to learned scholars and colleges.

Dr. A. S. Altekar then delivered the presidential address printed on pp. 59-77 of this number.

The meeting then adjourned to 2 p. m.

In the adjourned meeting the rare and representative coins from the Bayana hoard were shown by Dr. A. S. Altekar, which were kindly sent for exhibition by the Bharatpur government. A number of papers were read, some of which are included in the present number.

The business meeting of the Society was held on the 29th of December, 1947, when the following members were present.

1. Dr. A. S. Altekar, President.
2. R. G. Gyani, M. A., Bombay.
3. Mr. S. C. Upadhyaya, M. A., Bombay.
4. Mr. M. N. Deshpande, M. A., Poona.
5. Mr. V. P. Rode, M. A., Nagpur.
6. M. M. B. N. Reu, Jodhpur.
7. The Director of Archæology, Baroda State.
8. Dr. J. M. Unwala, Bombay.

19. Mr. S. M. Shukla, Bombay.
10. Mr. P. L. Gupta, Benares.
11. The Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
12. Mr. I. B. Patil, B. A., LL. B., Bombay.
13. The State Archæologist, Rajpipla State.
14. Dr. V. S. Agrawala, New Delhi.
15. Dr. Motichand, Bombay.
16. The Curator, Indore Museum, Indore.

The following condolence resolutions were passed.

The Society records its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Sir Richard Burn, one of the founder members of the Society, who, by his research work, threw light on many a dark spots of Indian history and numismatics, and who was a tower of strength to the Society, of which he was thrice a President. The Society conveys its sincere condolence to the members of the bereaved family.

The Society is shocked at the sudden and premature death of Dr. M. H. Krishna, Director of Archæology, Mysore. In Dr. Krishna the Society has lost a valuable member, a distinguished archæologist and one of the greatest authorities on South Indian numismatics. The Society offers its heart-felt sympathy to Mrs. Krishna and other members of the family.

The Society also records its deep sense of sorrow at the sudden demise of Mr. Bhattasali of the Dacca Museum.

The President then made a statement, explaining the general financial position of the Society.

The audited statement of accounts, printed on pp. 156-9 of this number was then passed.

It was decided to recommend to the Central Government that it should appoint a Committee of experts to select suitable devices for the coinage of Free India, which would be reminiscent of its artistic and cultural traditions and heritage.

It was decided to have a Chairman of the Executive Committee separate from the President of the Society. A committee was also appointed with Dr. Altekar, as chairman and Messrs. Motichand and V. S. Agrawal as members, to draft a better constitution for the Society.

The following office-bearers were then elected :—

- Dr. J. M. Unwala, President.
- Dr. A. S. Altekar, Chairman.
- Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Vice-President.
- Mr. R. G. Gyani, M. A., Secretary of the Society.
- Mr. C. R. Singhal, Asst. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer.

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. Prin. V. V. Mirashi, Amaraoti.
2. Mr. A. S. Gadre, M. A., Baroda.
3. Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M. A.
4. Pt. B. N. Reu, Jodhpur.
5. Mr. Paramanand Acharya, B. Sc., Mayurbhanj.
6. Dr. Motichand, Bombay.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

1. Prin. V. V. Mirashi, Amaraoti.
2. Dr. V. S. Agrawala, New Delhi.
3. Mr. R. G. Gyani, Bombay.
4. Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmad, Dacca.
5. Dr. P. M. Joshi, Bombay.
6. Dr. R. B. Pande, Benares.

It was resolved to sanction an expenditure of Rs. 250/- for the preparation of slides and Rs. 500/- for the purchase of books for the Taylor Library. Other expenditure was to be on the lines of the last year's budget, passed by circulation. The expenditure for the Special Discovery Gold and Silver medals was to be met out of the Bharatpur grant.

Special Publication Fund Budget.

1. It was resolved to sanction an honorarium of Rs. ten per page for the articles accepted for the Standard Work of Reference and of Rs. six for the Bibliography on Indian Numismatics.

2. It was resolved to sanction the necessary expenditure in connection with the photographing work connected with the Standard Work of Reference. This year an amount upto Rs. 2,000 may be spent.

3. It was resolved to sanction T. A. and Halting expenditure upto Rs. 1000 in order to enable the editor of the Standard Work to visit the different museums to ensure the inclusion of all important coins in the Volume.

4. It was resolved to pay a subsidy of Rs. 200/- to P. L. Gupta in order to enable him to collect all the material necessary for his corpus on Gupta Coinage. Mr. Gupta expressed his willingness to present five copies of his work to the Society.

5. It was decided that the Society should undertake to publish popular books on Numismatics in Indian languages and a committee of Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. V. S. Agrawala and Dr. Motichand was appointed to impliment the scheme.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, 1947 155

6. The Society desires to convey its grateful thanks to the Maharajasahib and the Government of Bharatpur for the princely donation of Rs 5000/- (non-recurring) and Rs. 1000/- recurring, sanctioned by them.

The Society records its deep thanks to the Governments of Bihar, Madras, Baroda and Jaipur for their recurring grants to the Society and to the Government of the U. P. and the Trustees of the Tata Charities for their non-recurring grant of Rs. 1500 and Rs. 1000 respectively for the projected work on Indian Numismatics.

156. JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Income and Expenditure Account for the period

EXPENDITURE	Rs.	As.	Ps.
To Stationery and Printing ...	1,570	5	6
„ Postage and Telegrams ...	165	15	9
„ Honorarium Expenses ...	515	8	0
„ Sundry Expenses ...	308	5	3
„ Bank Charges ...	4	4	0
„ Contribution Charges ...	311	0	0
„ Amount transferred to Special Publication Fund	1,000	0	0
	3,884	6	6

Bombay, the 22nd Dec., 1947.

DINUBHAI & Co.,
Registered Accountants,
Hony. Auditors.

AUDITED STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS, 1947 157

OF INDIA.

from 1st Jan., 1947 to 30th Nov., 1947.

INCOME	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
By Interest :—						
H. S. Account, Central Bank of India No. 105518 ...				0	10	0
Postal Savings Bank Account No. 478633 ...				317	4	0
„ Subscriptions :—						
Arrears ...	529	7	0			
Current ...	510	10	0			
Life ...	200	0	0			
Advance ...	14	0	0			
Quinquennial ...	105	0	0	1,359	1	0
„ Sale of Journal ...				210	1	0
„ Government Grants :—						
Bombay Government ...	300	0	0			
Orissa „ ...	600	0	0			
Madras „ ...	300	0	0			
Hyderabad State ...	200	0	0			
Jaipur State ...	50	0	0	1,450	0	0
„ Excess of Expenditure over Income transferred to General Fund				547	6	6
				3,884	6	6

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Balance Sheet as at

FUND & LIABILITIES	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
General Fund :—						
Balance as on 1st Jan., 1947.				988	7	10
<i>Less</i> Excess of Expenditure over income during the year ...				547	6	6
				441	1	4
Special Publication Fund Ac:						
Balance as on 1st Jan., 1947.	9,000	0	0			
Addition during the year	1,000	0	0	10,000	0	0
				10,441	1	4

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers and beg to report that we have obtained all the informations and explanations we have required and in our opinion, the above Balance Sheet exhibits a true and a correct view of the state of affairs of the Society according to the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society.

BOMBAY,
Dated this 22nd day of Dec., 1947.

DINUBHAI & Co.,
Registered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors.

AUDITED STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS, 1947

159

OF INDIA.

30th November, 1947.

PROPERTY & ASSETS	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Furniture ...				100	0	0
Cash and other balances :						
Postal Cash Certificate maturing on 28-2-50 ...	3,525	0	0			
Postal Saving Bank A/c No. 478633 ...	458	2	0			
National Saving Certificate, maturing on 1-4-50 ...	2,000	0	0			
National Saving Certificate, maturing on 2-7-56 ...	1,000	0	0			
National Saving Certificate, maturing on 25-4-59 ...	3,000	0	0			
Central Bank H/S Account No. 105518 ...	70	9	1			
Bank of India Ltd., Current A/c ...	322	7	3			
Cash on Hand ..	54	15	0	10,341	1	4
				10,441	1	4

List of the Members of the Society.

Patron :

H. H. The Maharajadhiraj Maharana Sri Bhupalsinghji Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Maharana of Udaipur (Mewar).

Life Members :

Dongre, R. V., 384, Lamington Road, Bombay 4.
 Govel, K.C., B.Sc., Executive Engineer, Central Division, Ajmer.
 Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, M. A., LL. B. Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad Deccan.
 Muhammed Abdul Wali Khan, Keeper of Coins, Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad Dn.
 Law, B. C., Dr., M. A., Ph. D., 43 Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta.
 Nahar, B. S., B.A., 48, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.
 Patel, I. B., B.A., LL.B., Freuny House, Sitladevi Temple Road, Mahim, Bombay 16.
 Powills, Michael, A., 9645, South Leavitt Street, Chicago 43, Illinois (U. S. A.).
 Raghubir Singh, Major, M.K., Raghubir Niwas, Sitamau (C. I.).
 Sahni, Dr. Birbal, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
 Shukla, S. M., Manager, Rawal Tiles and Marble factories, Arthur Bunder, Colaba, Bombay.

Original Members :

Whitehead, R.B., I.C.S., F.R.A.S.B., Millington Road, Cambridge, England.

Ordinary Members :

1922 Acharya, G. V., B. A., Harsha Sadan, Ganesh Falia, Junagadh.
 1947 Acharya, Paramananda, B. Sc., State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj State, P. O. Baripada.
 1932 Agarwal, Jai Krishna, Canning College Office, Lucknow.
 1948 Agarwal, Ramsaran, c/o Babulal Ramsaran, 463/4 Sakar Bazar, Ahmedabad.
 1946 Agarwal, V. S., Dr., Supdt. C.A.A. Museum, New Delhi.
 1946 Ahmad, S. M., B.A., Deputy Collector, Jaunpur, U. P.
 1911 Allan, J., M.A., British Museum, London, W. C.
 1931 Altekar, A.S., M.A., LL.B., D. LITT., Professor of Ancient Indian History & Culture, Benares Hindu University.
 1937 Antani, V. R., M.A., Military Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja of Chamba, Dalhousie.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

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- 1913 Bandorawala, Cooverjee Nowrojee, B.A., Patuck's Bangalore, opposite Minerva Cinema, 91, Lamington Road, Tardeo, Bombay.
- 1947 Banerji, A. C., Archæological Museum, Nalanda House, P. O. Nalanda, Dt. Patna.
- 1940 Banerji, A. N., 16A. Furria Pukur Street, Calcutta.
- 1930 Banerji, J. N. Dr., M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University, 28, Manoharpukur Road, Kalighat P.O., Calcutta.
- 1944 Banerji, Priyatosh. C/o P. N. Banerji, Imperial Bank of India, Patna (Bihar).
- 1945 Banerji, Dr. S. K., Professor, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
- 1948 Banker, Harilal, O, Post Box No. 2362, Kalba Devi, Bombay.
- 1939 Baron, B. K., Bar-at-law, "Marine Hall" Springe Road. Mussoorie (U. P.)
- 1940 Bhagavad Dutt, Pandit, Mahesh Villa, Chakrota Road, Dehra Dun.
- 1910 Bhandarkar, D. R., M.A., PH.D., 2/1 Lovelock Street, Calcutta.
- 1940 Bhat, B. W., Hon. Secretary, Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandal, Dhulia.
- 1934 Biddulph, C. H., Major I. E., C/o The Chief Engineer, South Indian Railway, Trichinopoly (S. I.)
- 1911 Botham, The Hon'ble Mr. A. W., C.S.I., I.C.S., The Manor House, Alford, Lincolnshire.
- 1943 Carrington, A. H. Major, Corporation St., Birmingham (England)
- 1924 Chakraborty, Dr. Surendra Kishore, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, Anandamohan College, Mymensingh, Bengal.
- 1934 Chatterji, C.D., Reader, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
- 1934 Chattopadhyaya, Kshetresachandra, M.A., Sanskrit Department, Allahabad University, Allahabad.
- 1935 Chaudhury, Haridas Majumdar, P. O. Narayandahar, Mymensingh District, Bengal.
- 1945 Chinmulgund, P. J., I.C.S., Bombay.
- 1944 Coachman, K. R., 16 Cowasji Patel Street, Bombay 1.
- 1942 Contractor, K. N., c/o British Overseas Airways Corporation, Finlay House, Karachi.
- 1915 Contractor, Sorabshaw M., Umrigar Building, Ormiston Road, Apollo Reclamation, Bombay.
- 8934 Dar, Mukat Bihari Lal, B.S.C., LL.B., Secretary to the U. P. Govt. Local Self Govt., Lucknow.
- 1934 Darbari, M. D., B. com., F.S.A.A.R.A., 100, Clive Street, Calcutta.
- 1947 Deshpande, M. M., Asst. Supdt. A. S. W. Circle, Poona 5

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- 1945 Dotiwala, Major C. R., Bungalow No. 13, One Tree Hill Road, Mhow Cantt.
- 1935 Driver, Dorab Cursetji, M.A., (Cantab), Bar-at-Law, of Messrs. Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., 102A, Clive Street, Calcutta.
- 1945 Fairhead, E.C., C.D.R.E., C/o I. C. I. Ltd., Post Box 182, 18 Strand Road, Calcutta.
- 1938 Faizullah Khan, Secretary, District Local Board, Lyallpur, Punjab.
- 1922 Forrer, L, 1 Helvetia, 24, Homefield Road, Bromley Kent, England.
- 1945 Gahlot, Mahavir Singh, Merti gate, Jodhpur.
- 1944 Ganda Singh, Prof., Khalsa College, Amritsar.
- 1920 Ghanshyam Das, Rai Bahadur, Commissioner, (Retd.) Ghazipur (U. P.).
- 1928 Ghosal, D. D., Retd. Superintendent, Calcutta Improvement Trust, 85, Tantipara Lane, P. O. Santragachi, Howrah.
- 1947 Ghosh, N. N., Ganga Villa. New Bairana, Allahabad.
- 1929 Ghose, A., M. A., 42, Shambazar Street, Calcutta.
- 1946 Ghose, S. K., Maniari Canal Officer, P. O. Narkatiaganj, (O. & T. Rly.), Distt. Champaran.
- 1936 Gopalachari, S. T. Srinivas, (Rao Bahadur), Advocate, "Sambanda Vilas", Raja Annamalai Chetty Road, Vepery, Madras.
- 1940 Gupta, Parmeshwari Lal, 63/42, Victoria Park (north) Benares.
- 1933 Gyani, R. G., M.A., Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 1930 Hon'ble Mr. Justice Harish Chandra, I. C. S., 12 Hamilton Road, George Town, Allahabad.
- 1926 Heras, H., Rev., Father, Professor of Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay 2.
- 1945 Hopkin, H. J. M., Lt. Col ; I.A.O.C., C/o Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
- 1944 Hurmuz Kaus, 128 Public Garden Rd., Hyderabad (Dn.)
- 1943 Ishaque, M., B.SC., M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). 159 B. Dharamtalla St., Calcutta.
- 1948 Iyer, D. K., Numismatist, Assamam, Trivandrum.
- 1923 Jalan, Radha Krishna, Dewan Bahadur, Quila House, Patna City.
- 1945 Janzen, E.P., C/o L.F. Janzen, 3132 Atwater Avenue, Los Angels, California, U.S.A.
- 1939 Joshi, P.M., M.A., Ph.D., University Library, Bombay.
- 1946 Kar, R.C., M.A., P. 60/B, New Shambazar St., Calcutta.
- 1944 Khanchandani, J. K., Prof., Hirabad Quarter, D. G. N. College, Hyderabad (Sind).

- 1944 Khareghat, R. M., Lt. Col., I. M. S., Civil Surgeon, C/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Bombay.
- 1948 Kraus, Earnst Suite 1702, 444 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y., U. S. A.
- 1943 Krishnamoortty, P. D., C/o T. P. A. Mannar Krishna Iyer & Sons, Madura & Benares Cloth Merchants. Ruede Grand Bazar, Pondicherry, (S. I.)
- 1944 Kummer, F. E., Manager, West End Watch Co., 16 Old Court House St., Calcutta.
- 1947 Locken G. Royse Hole, Norway.
- 1941 Mathuram, Dr. N. D., Guru Medical Hall, Puthur, Trichinopoly.
- 1941 Maharaja Mandhata Singh, Himmatnagar (Idar State).
- 1947 Majumdar, R. C., Dr., 4 Bipin Pal Road, Kalighat, Calcutta.
- 1947 Marshal, D. N., 118 Military Square, Port Bombay.
- 1937 Mehta, Pratapray G., C/o Jaipur Metal Industries, Jaipur.
- 1936 Mirashi, V. V., Mahamahopadhyaya, Principal, Mahavidarbha College, Amraoti (C. P.)
- 1947 Mishra, W. P., A. LL. B., Pleader, Hoshangabad, C. P.
- 1925 Modi, Jagmohandas K., Krishna Kunj, 15 Ridge Road, Bombay.
- 1937 Moti Chandra, Dr., M. A., Ph.D., Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 1930 Moulvi, Shamsuddin Ahmad, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Dept., Dacca.
- 1947 Muhammad Mazrul Haq, c/o Muhammad Zainl Haq Sufi, M.A., Lecturer, Govt. College, Montgomery, Punjab.
- 1947 Nagar, M. M., Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
- 1948 Narain, Prof. A. K., M.A., C. H. C., Hindu University, Benares.
- 1941 Nanjee, Choonilal, D., "Satya Vilas" 16, Manordas Street, Fort, Bombay.
- 1929 Pai, M. P., I. C. S., Secretary, Industries Supplies Deptt. Govt. of India, New Dehli.
- 1941 Pande, B. P., Major, B. A., LL. B., F.R.E.S., Dewan, Mayurbhanj State, Baripada.
- 1948 Pande, Dr. R. B., Benares Hindu University.
- 1945 Pandit, R. C., Bank of Behar, Patna.
- 1947 Pantalu, G. Ramdas, Sriramachandravilas, Jaypur, Korapur, Dt. Orissa.
- 1946 Panigrahi, K. C., Govt. College, Sambalpur (Orissa).
- 1940 Pavri, P. F., Pavri House, Gundow Street, Fort, Bombay.
- 1945 Pillai, P. M., "Kumaran Nilayam," Sahadevapuram, Salem (S. I.).
- 1946 Pittabiramin, P. Z., 52 Big Bazar St., Pondichery.

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- 1944 Powar, A. G., Dr., M.A., Ph.D., Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
- 1945 Pradyuman, Draughtsman Technical Development Establishment, Ahmednagar (Bombay).
- 1917 Prayag Dayal, R. B., 80, Latouche Road, Lucknow.
- 1947 Principal, M. N. College, Visnagar.
- 1937 Pusalkar, A. D., M.A., LL B., 'Usha', 118, Shivaji Park, Dadar, Bombay.
- 1947 Qureshi, I. H., Professor of History, University of Delhi.
- 1925 Rameshwar Dayal, Pt., B.A., Additional Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Lucknow.
- 1941 Rao, Uttam Singh, B.A., Official, Jind State, Krishna Basti, P. O. Sangrur (Jind State),
- 1940 Rath, P.C., B.A., Superintendent of Archaeology, Patna State, (E.S.A.), P.O. Bolangir.
- 1947 Reu B. N., M.M., Suptd. Archaeological Dept., Jodhpur.
- 1944 Rode, V.P., M.A., Arch. Asstt., Central Museum, Nagpur.
- 1933 Rudra Partapsing, Rao Bahadur, M.L.C., Sonbarsa Raj, Bhagalpur.
- 1920 Sah, Shri Nath, Durga Kund, Benares.
- 1945 Samrat, Ganga Ram, SANN (Sindh).
- 1947 Sastri P. Sheshadri. Prodiepet, Guntur (S. I.)
- 1940 Sen, S.N., Keeper, Nepal Museum, Kathmandu, (Nepal).
- 1943 Shah, P.G., M.A., Lalit Kunj, 11th Road, Khar Bombay.
- 1935 Sharma, L. P., Pandeya, Hon. Secretary, Mahakoshal Historical Society, Balpur, P.O. Chandrapur (Bilaspur) C. P., via Raigarh, B.N. Rly.
- 1940 Sharma, Shri Ram, Principal, D.A.V. College, Sholapur.
- 1944 Sherwani, H. K., M. A., Professor, Rahat Fiza, Himayaknagar, Hyderabad, Deccan.
- 1944 Singh Roy, Subhendu, Village Manirambati, P. O. Chakdighi, Distt. Burdwan, or 15 Landsdown Road, Calcutta.
- 1928 Singhal, C. R., Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 1939 Singhi, Narendra Singh, M.Sc., B.L., 48, Gariahat Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
- 1939 Singhi, Rajendra Singh, B. Com., 48, Gariahat Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
- 1940 Sircar, D. C., M.A., PH D., 93/4 Manohar Pukur Road, P. O. Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta.
- 1944 Sitholey, B. S., C/o, Dr. R. V. Sitholey, 1096 Kunj Behari Building, Lal Bagh Circus, Lucknow.
- 1937 Sohoni, S. V., M.A., I.C.S., 17 Cantonment Road, Cuttuck.
- 1924 Stapleton, H. E., Dr., M.A., B S.C., F.R.A.S.B.; Sands St. Brelade, Jersey, C. I., England.
- 1935 Subba Naicker, Zamindar of Sevalpatti, Sevalpatti P. O. (Madras Presidency).

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- 1935 Talvalkar, V. R., A. R. I. B. A., 40, Hughes Road, Bombay 7.
- 1925 Tarapore, Major, P.S., His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Army Medical Service, Sweet Auburn, Near Chanderghat Bridge, Hyderabad, Deccan.
- 1918 Taraporevala, V.D.B., B.A., 79 Koregaon Park, Poona.
- 1935 Thakore Mahendrasinhji, K., B.A., LL.B., Bombay Civil Service (Jdl.), Kopargaon (Distt: Ahmednagar).
- 1926 Thorburn, Philip, 86, Rochester Row, West Minister, London, S. W. I.
- 1946 Tronk, M. L., Supervisor, Vehcles Dept., Chaklala, Punjab.
- 1943 Unvala, J. M., M. A., Ph. D., Parsi Student's Hostel, Gamadia Colony, Tardeo, Bombay.
- 1934 Upadhyaya, S. C., M.A., Curator, Victoria & Albert Museum, Byculla, Bombay.
- 1936 Vats, Madho Sarup, M.A., Superintendent, Archæological Survey, N.C., Agra.
- 1920 Walsh, E. H. C., C.S.I., I.C.S. (Retd.), C/o Lloyd's Bank, Cox's & King's Branch, 6, Pall Mall, London, S.W.I.
- 1916 The Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
- 1917 The Curator, Central Museum, Lahore.
- 1920 The Hon. Secretary, Watson Museum, Rajkot (Kathiawar).
- 1923 The Secretary of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 1924 The Curator, Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad (Deccan).
- 1924 The Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
- 1936 The Curator, The Museum, Indore.
- 1936 The Curator, Curzon Museum of Archæology, Muttra.
- 1940 The Curator, Central Museum, Nagpur.
- 1946 The Curator, Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi.
- 1940 The Secretary, Provincial Museum, Cuttack, Orissa.
- 1947 The Curator, Mysore Govt. Museum, Bangalore.
- 1941 The Curator, Peshawar Museum, Peshawar.
- 1941 The Curator, Dacca Museum, Dacca.
- 1947 The Curator, State Museum, Bharatpur.
- 1941 The Curator, State Museum, Pudukkottai (S. I.)
- 1941 The Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.
- 1942 The Curator, Municipal Museum, Allahabad.
- 1942 The Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
- 1947 The Curator, Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain.
- 1912 The Director General of Archæology in India, New Delhi.
- 1947 The Director of Archæology, Baroda State.
- 1938 The Director of Archæology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.

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- 1947 The Director of Archæology, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
- 1945 The State Archæologist, Rajpipla State, Rajpipla (Via Ankleshwar, B. B. & C. I. Rly.).
- 1941 The Superintendent, Archæological Department, Government of Jodhpur, Jodhpur.
- 1947 The Superintendent of Archæology, Bharatpur State, Bharatpur.
- 1943 The Superintendent of Archæology, Jaipur State, Jaipur.
- 1947 The Superintendent of Archæology, Rewa State.
- 1931 The State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj State, Baripada.
- 1946 The Principal, Meerut College, Meerut (U. P.)
- 1942 The Hon. General Secretary, Archæological Society, Bahauddin College, Junagadh.
- 1943 The Asst. Secretary, Gujarat Vernacular Society, Bhadra, Ahmedabad.
- 1940 The Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.
- 1918 The Secretary, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.
- 1925 The Hon. Secretary, K. R., Cama Oriental Institute, Apollo Street, Bombay.
- 1930 The Librarian, University Library, Bombay.
- 1947 The Librarian, Herbert College, Kotah (Rajputana)
- 1940 Librarian, University Library, Benares Hindu University.
- 1948 The Librarian, J. N. Petit Institute, Bombay.
- 1940 The Librarian, Nagpur University, Nagpur.
- 1943 The Librarian, B. J. Wadia Library, Fergusson College, Poona 4.
- 1943 The Librarian, University Library, Allahabad.
- 1944 The Librarian, Gurukula University, Gurukula Kangri (U. P.).
- 1945 The Librarian, Calcutta University Library, Ashutosh Bldg., Calcutta.
- 1940 The Director, Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar.
- 1940 The American Numismatic Society, Broadway, at 156th Street, New York City.

J. N. S. I., 1947.

Plate V



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COINS OF ŠIBI REPUBLIC

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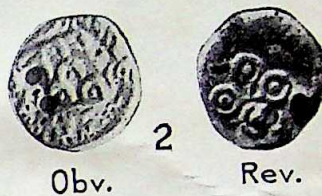
J. N. S I., 1947.

Plate VI.



J.N.S.I., 1947.

Plate VII.

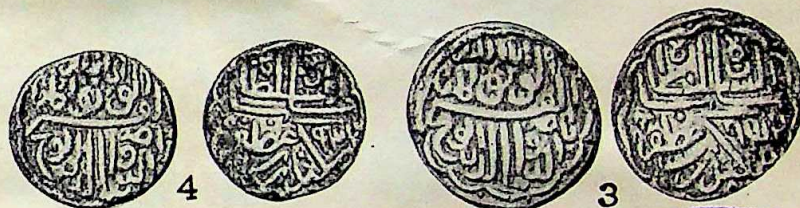


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J. N. S. I., 1947.

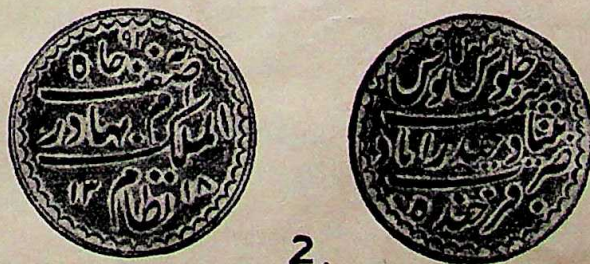
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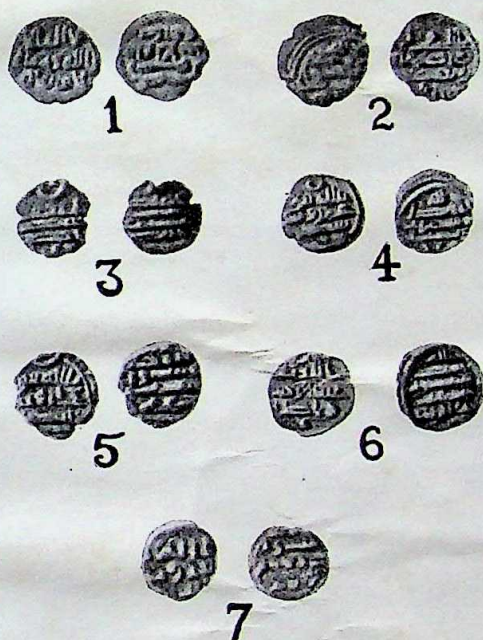
COINS OF RUKNUDDIN IBRAHIM, JEHANGIR AND
SIKANDAR SHAH OF GUJARAT.

B.



J.N.S.I., 1947

Plate IX.



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; द ढ ; द ड ; kh خ ; ह ح ; च छ ; ज ञ ; स ث ; त ث ; प प ; ब ब ; अ ;
 ; ब ए ; z ط ; t ط ; z ض ; s ص ; sh ش ; s س ; zh ز ; z ز ; r ر ; r ر ; z ذ
 ; y ی ; h ه ; w و ; n ن ; m م ; l ل ; g گ ; k ک ; q ق ; f ف ; gh غ

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